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The writings of Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson, Albert Ellery Bergh, Richard Holland Johnston, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States

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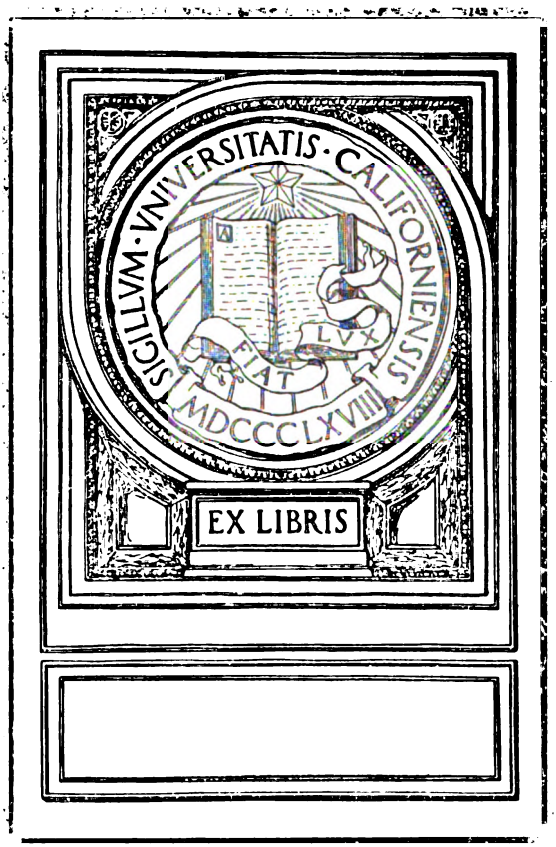

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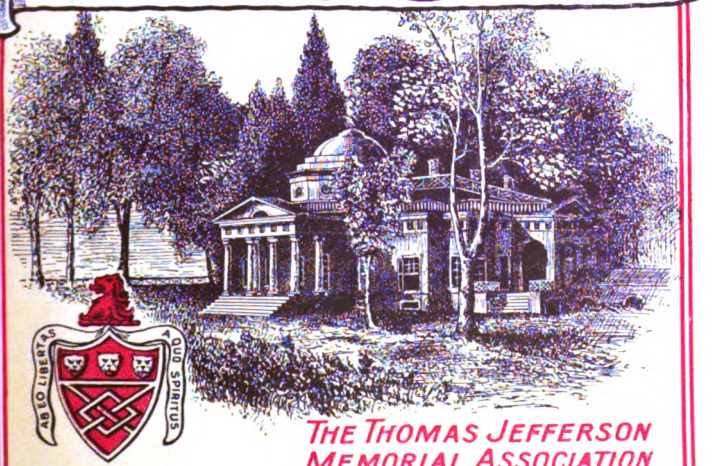
The Writings of Thomas Jefferson



THE THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

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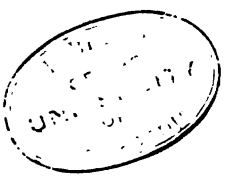

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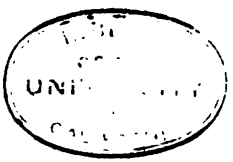

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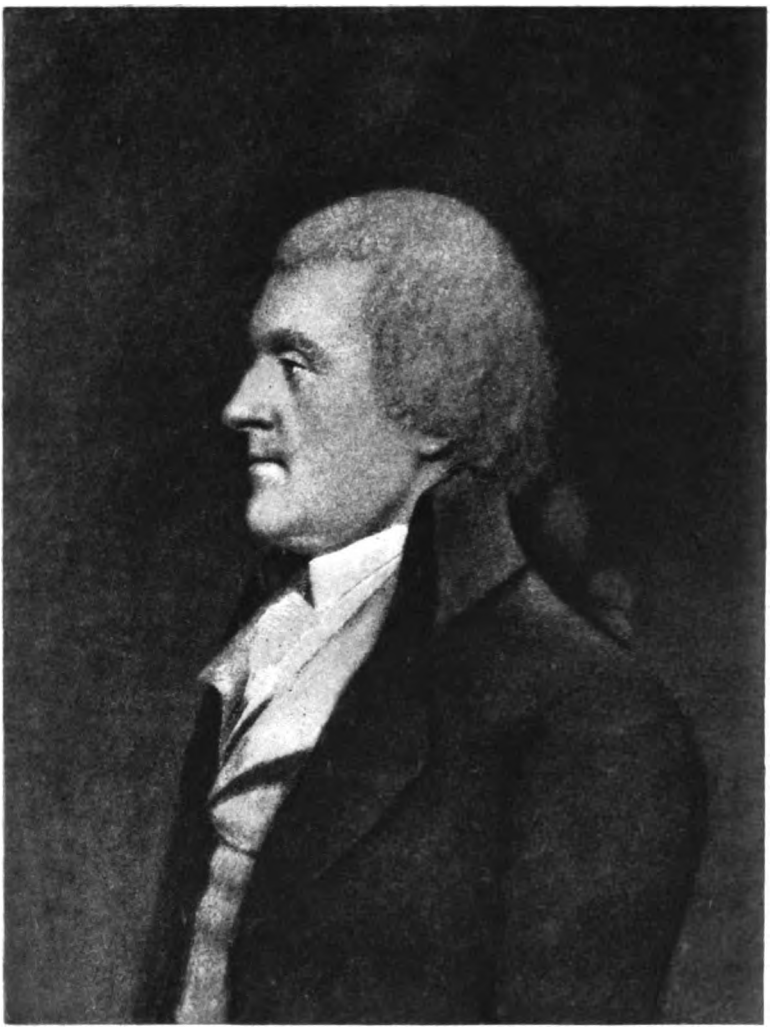

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY [illegible]
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WRITINGS, [illegible]
NOW [illegible]

The Sharpless Jefferson

Photogravure from the Original Painting by James Sharpless.

This painting, done by the famous English portrait painter, is owned by the city of Philadelphia and deposited in the National Museum (the old State House).

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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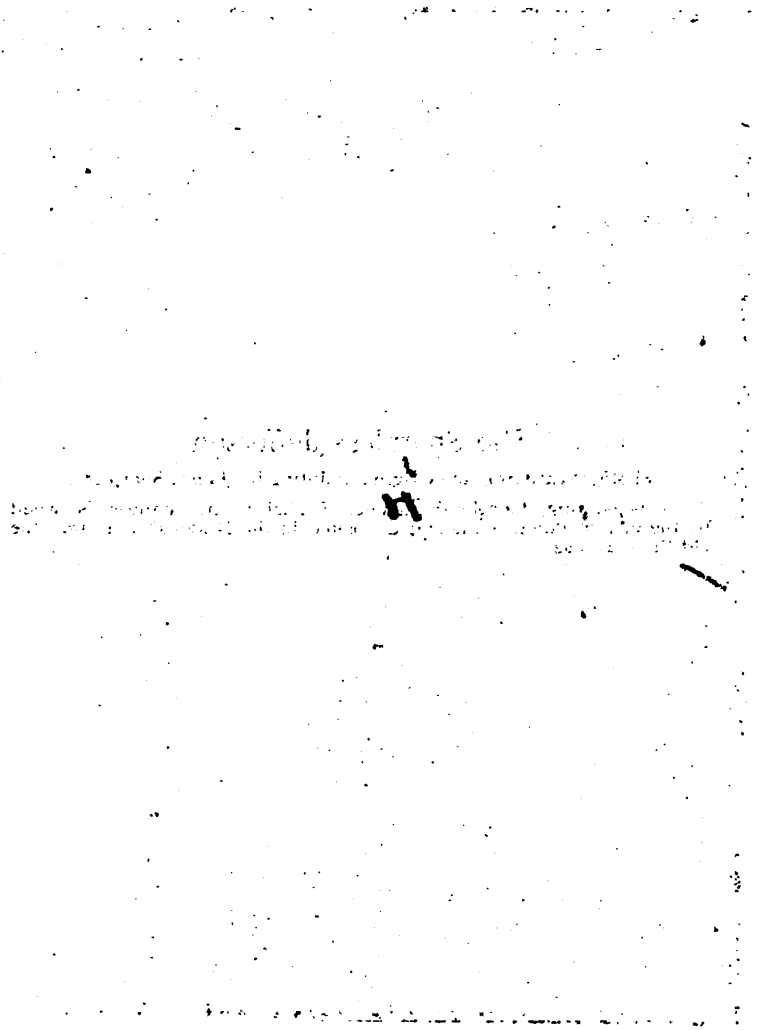

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THE WRITINGS OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

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CONTAINING HIS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, NOTES ON VIRGINIA, PARLIAMENTARY MANUAL, OFFICIAL PAPERS, MESSAGES AND ADDRESSES, AND OTHER WRITINGS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE, NOW COLLECTED AND

PUBLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY FOR THE FIRST TIME

INCLUDING

ALL OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, DEPOSITED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND PUBLISHED IN 1853 BY ORDER OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

AND

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYTICAL INDEX

ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, *Chairman Board of Governors*
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ALBERT ELLERY BERGH
MANAGING EDITOR

VOL. XII.

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JEFFERSON'S PASSPORTS TO IMMORTALITY.[1]

Gentlemen of the Jefferson Club:—I have discharged with pleasure the duty which your kindness assigned me, and we now look upon the bust of him whose genius and prophetic foresight gave to our country the soil upon which this great city stands.

Thomas Jefferson wrote his own epitaph. Amongst his papers, after death, was found a rough sketch in ink of an obelisk to be made in granite, eight feet in height, with the inscription:

Here was buried

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

Author of the Declaration of American Independence,

of

The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,

and

Father of the University of Virginia.

It is a significant epitaph, and worthy of him who wrote it. Jefferson had been a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and of the Continental Congress, Governor of Virginia, Minister to France,

[1] An address delivered by Hon. George G. Vest before the Jefferson Club of St. Louis, Mo., October 31, 1895, on the occasion of unveiling a bronze bust of Thomas Jefferson, by Benjamin Harney.

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Secretary of State, Vice-President and President of the United States, but none of these honors or titles are upon the stone which marked his grave. True to his convictions, shown by every public and private act, the sworn enemy of parade, sham and ostentation, the stern old Democrat wanted, living or dead, none of the tinsel and trappings of heraldic pomp or titular glory. He named for himself his passports to immortality—the rights of man, religious liberty, and universal education.

Jefferson was charged by the enemies who pursued him during life, and assailed his memory after death, with being a communist who appealed to the ignorant and poor against the educated and wealthy. He was by birth, lineage, education, and association, an aristocrat. He had in his veins the blue blood of the Randolphs, who, as Jefferson tells us in his Autobiography, "trace their pedigree far back in England and Scotland, to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses." Besides, he was born a land and slave owner, educated at the College of William and Mary, an institution established and endowed by royalty, and when a student in the old town of Williamsburg, the first capital of Virginia, was the favorite protégé of Francis Fauquier, the royal governor, at whose table he was a constant guest.

Passionately devoted to music, sculpture and painting, an accomplished Greek, Latin and French scholar, whilst in the higher mathematics, philosophy

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and the sciences, he was without an equal amongst public men, Jefferson was naturally drawn by such tastes and pursuits away from the people, as they were then contemptuously called, and to the privileged classes who claimed by inheritance a monopoly of wealth, education and culture.

From Monticello, Jefferson went forth to make untiring and relentless war upon tyranny and oppression in every shape. For nearly fifty years his form towered in the front of every battle for civil and religious liberty, and there was not one single moment in which he ceased to struggle for human rights. It is almost impossible after so many years, and under circumstances so changed, to realize the appalling difficulties which confronted the advocates of civil and religious freedom in the last century, and especially in Virginia.

New Virginia was then but the gross caricature of old England. The rakehelly Cavaliers who fought under Prince Rupert were reproduced in an exaggerated form in the young planters of the province. To primogeniture, entail and the union of Church and State, had been added the curse of African slavery; and to raise tobacco, clear more land and buy more slaves, all to be at last squandered in riotous living, seemed to be the chief end of the Virginia gentleman.

Loyal to king and church, these fox-hunting, deep-drinking and gallant Virginians were ready to risk life and limb against any odds, in defence

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of the divine right of kings, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Church of England.

From his four years' study of the law, and after mastering completely Coke on Lyttleton, which he had read and re-read and carefully annotated, Jefferson stepped into a world of crystallized wrong and robbery, made up from ages of legal precedent, and sanctified by so-called religion; but not in vain had he studied the black-letter pages of that sterling old Whig text-book, of which Jefferson afterwards wrote:

"Coke Lyttleton was the universal law book of students, and a sounder Whig never wrote, nor of profounder learning in the orthodox doctrines of the British Constitution, or in what was called British liberties.

"Our lawyers were then all Whigs. But when his black-letter text and uncouth but cunning learning got out of fashion, and the honeyed Mansfieldism of Blackstone became the student's horn-book, from that moment that profession (the nursery of our Congress) began to slide into Toryism, and nearly all the young brood of lawyers are now of that line. They suppose themselves, indeed, to be Whigs, because they no longer know what Whigism or Republicanism means."

When, therefore, in 1765, young Jefferson, fresh from Coke Lyttleton, stood at the door of the lobby of the House of Burgesses, in Williamsburg, and heard Patrick Henry denounce in burning words

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the Stamp Act and the whole system of kingcraft, the seed fell into ground well prepared for the truth.

In 1769 Jefferson entered public life as a member of the House of Burgesses from his native county of Albemarle. His first measure was to provide for the gradual emancipation of slaves; but it resulted in utter failure, and is now only valuable as indicating the settled opinions of Jefferson upon the subject of slavery, and his fearlessness in grappling with the overwhelming public sentiment of his State in its favor.

Whilst a slave owner all his life, Mr. Jefferson was opposed to the institution and desired its gradual extinction. Like many intelligent men in the slaveholding States, he deprecated the existence of slavery, but resented the statement that the people of these States were alone responsible for the evil, or that those who had originally introduced slaves through their own avarice had the right to interfere afterwards with the property of the citizens to whom the slaves had been sold.

With prophetic vision, Jefferson saw the dreadful panorama of war and desolation which must accompany the end of slavery, unless peaceful means were adopted for that purpose. Speaking of gradual emancipation, he says in his Autobiography, written when he was seventy-seven years old:

"It was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it

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must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free, nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."

One portion of this prediction has been verified, and African slavery has been drowned in the tears and blood of both North and South.

At the same time it is not difficult to realize how utterly beyond the imagination of any mortal man fifty years ago, must have been the idea, not of emancipation, but that the emancipated slave would grasp the ballot and participate in the government of the country.

We know now that the negro race, with its parasitic tendencies and strong local attachments, will never submit to colonization, and that this philanthropic dream has vanished before the logic of events. The negro is a component part of our civilization, and must so remain.

It is the very irony of history that of all the slaveholding States, Virginia should have suffered most in defending an institution forced upon her people by the greed of Old and New England, in opposition to the judgment and wishes of her most distinguished men.

As far back as 1770, Virginia had protested against the introduction of African slaves, but the protest was silenced by the royal edict, and the traffic went on.

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In 1776 Jefferson framed with his own hand an indictment of the King of Great Britain, in the following words:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

"This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.

"And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

These burning sentences were a part of the Declaration of Independence as originally written by Jefferson and reported to Congress; but so strong was the influence of South Carolina, Georgia and New England, in favor of the slave trade, that the words were stricken out, and the Declaration was adopted as we now see it.

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In 1778, two years later, Virginia made it a felony to import slaves into her limits, and in 1787, when she gave to the Union the Northwest Territory, the most princely gift in all "the annals of recorded time," Jefferson prepared the ordinance, and incorporated in its provisions the condition, "that after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

Again, in the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution of 1789, when the question of permitting further importation of slaves was under discussion, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said:

"This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempt of Virginia to put a stop to it. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly, and North Carolina had done the same in substance."

Declaring then in the strongest terms his opposition to slavery, he concluded by stating that "he lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic."

Luther Martin, of Maryland, declared the slave trade "to be inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorable to the American character to have such a feature in the Constitution."

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In this state of things, Gouverneur Morris, adverting to the circumstance that the sixth section of the same article, then under consideration, contained a provision "that no navigation act should pass without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in each House"—a provision particularly affecting the interests of the New England States—suggested that this, together with the fourth and fifth sections, should be referred to a committee, in order that a bargain might be formed between the parties out of these elements of special local interest on the one side and the other.

The suggestion was adopted, and on the second day afterward the committee reported, extending the slave trade to 1800, and striking out the provision requiring a two-thirds vote to enact a navigation law.

When the report came up in the Convention, General Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to extend the slave trade to 1808, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Madison earnestly and eloquently opposed the motion, declaring it to be dishonorable to the American character, but his opposition was in vain.

Hand in hand, Massachusetts and South Carolina led the cohorts of slavery, and the motion prevailed, in all the New England States, with South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and North Carolina voting for it, and Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware voting against it.

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Luther Martin was a member of the committee to which I have alluded, and in a letter afterward to the Maryland House of Delegates, says:

"I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States, at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave trade, provided the Southern States in their turn would gratify them by laying no restriction on the navigation acts."

Grand, even in her desolation, Virginia, noblest of ancient or modern commonwealths, can point to this record and hear in contemptuous silence the taunts and sneers of the political Pharisees, who "mock at her calamity."

Although Jefferson had failed in his attack on African slavery, he did not for a moment relax in his opposition to the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the British King.

In 1772 the people of Rhode Island began the Revolution by burning the British war vessel Gaspé, in Narragansett Bay, and when the ministers of George the Third claimed the right to transport the persons accused from Rhode Island to England for trial, Jefferson saw at once that the time had come for joint and concerted action between all the colonies. To concede this claim as to the humblest citizen, was to surrender the liberties of all. In the early part of March, 1772, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Dabney Carr and Thomas Jefferson met at the Raleigh Tavern, in

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Williamsburg, Virginia, and drew up the famous resolutions pledging Virginia to stand by Rhode Island, and creating a committee of eleven, whose duty it should be to correspond with the other colonies, and concert measures for the general defence.

It is singular with what pertinacity amidst all the passionate debates and resolves of this eventful period, Jefferson and his associates still clung to the idea of loyalty to the king. Not till 1775 did he reluctantly come to the conclusion that the colonies must separate from the mother country.

Thus had the Commons of England advanced step by step until the head of Charles the First rolled from his shoulders before his palace at White Hall, and thus had the Girondists given place to the Revolution, until Louis the Sixteenth and Marie Antoinette died beneath the axe of the guillotine. In 1774 the people of Boston threw into the harbor the famous shipment of tea, and the King of England retaliated by closing the port. Again, Jefferson and his associates met at the Raleigh Tavern, and resolved to stand by New England. Massachusetts and Virginia then stood shoulder to shoulder, and who could have believed that in less than a century the same States would grapple in deadly conflict?

On June 21st, 1775, Jefferson took his seat as a member of the Continental Congress, and in June, 1776, wrote, with his own hand, the Declaration of American Independence, the most sub-

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lime enunciation, save one, ever made to the human race.

That "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is but a corollary from the divine injunction, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Together these two great truths embrace all the rights and duties of mankind.

The Declaration, having been reported to Congress, was debated on the second, third and fourth days of July, and adopted on the afternoon of the fourth, every member present signing it, except Mr. Dickinson.

In after years, Mr. Jefferson related with great humor a ludicrous event connected with this solemn transaction. Near the hall in which Congress assembled was a large livery stable, and the weather being extremely warm, the bloodthirsty and aggressive flies, which swarmed through the open windows, attacked our patriotic fathers, in abbreviated pants and thin silk stockings, with such pertinacity as to terminate the debate.

So near to the sublime is the ridiculous, and so wonderfully do the most insignificant creatures influence the destiny of man.

Thirteen States had now sprung into being, with institutions and laws not only varying as between themselves, but with some utterly opposed to the genius and spirit of the Declaration of Independence.

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In none of the colonies were abuses so rife and firmly established as in Virginia. Primogeniture and entail had created a class of thoughtless elder brothers and vagabond heirs, who were reckless and self-indulgent to the very verge of lawlessness.

The union of Church and State had destroyed the rights of conscience, and a licentious clergy, so far from "leading the way to Heaven," were merely adjuncts to the great houses, where high play and old Madeira rewarded their complaisant ministry.

The world, for hundreds of years, had listened to the clanking of chains and shrieks of martyrs, whilst fire and fagot irradiated the deadly work of religious bigotry.

Even the Pilgrims, flying from persecution, "having landed on Pilgrim Rock, fallen on their knees and then on the aborigines," no sooner found themselves firmly established in New England, than they began to torture in the name of God.

To deny any book of the Old or New Testaments to be the word of God was punished by fire or by stripes, and blasphemy left the delinquent without his ears and with his tongue bored by a red-hot iron. Men were pilloried, branded and executed for non-conformity to the established church, and in but three out of the thirteen colonies was there religious toleration—Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jefferson graphically describes the condition of Virginia:

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"The first settlers of this country were emigrants from England of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religion of all other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the power of making, administering and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren who had emigrated to the northern government. The poor Quakers were flying from persecution in England; they cast their eyes on these new countries as asylums of civil and religious freedom, but they found them free only for the reigning sect.

"General acts of the Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662 and 1693, had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the unlawful assembly of Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the State; had ordered those already here, and such as should come thereafter, to be imprisoned until they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for their third; had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets.

"If no executions took place here, as did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances that have not been handed down to us.

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"By our own Act of Assembly of 1705, if a person brought up in the Christian religion denies the existence of a God, or the Trinity, or asserts there are more Gods than one, or denies the Christian religion to be true, or the Scriptures to be of divine authority, he is punishable on the first offence by incapacity to hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military; on the second, by disability to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guardian, executor or administrator, and by three years' imprisonment without bail.

"A father's right to the custody of his own children being founded in law on his right of guardianship, this being taken away, they may of course be severed from him and put by the authority of the court into more orthodox hands."

Amidst a storm of opposition and obloquy, such as was never before seen on this continent, Jefferson resolutely attacked primogeniture, entail, and the union of Church and State.

From October the 11th to December the 5th the battle raged daily in the Virginia Assembly, and resulted in a substantial victory for Jefferson, although the statute for religious toleration did not finally become a law until 1786. When nearly eighty years old, Mr. Jefferson spoke of this as the most terrible contest of his long and stormy career. Against him were arrayed the wealthy families whose large estates were held by entail, the elder sons whose patrimonies were taken from them, and

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more than all, the clergy and established church, who resented the statute for religious toleration as a blasphemous attack upon religion and a personal outrage upon themselves. Jefferson was denounced as a communist, an atheist, a foe to all religion, and the bitter enmities engendered by this conflict harassed him during life and assailed his memory after death.

No one knew better than Jefferson how unrelenting is religious intolerance, and how dangerous the charge of infidelity or atheism to a public man; but so true was he to the rights of conscience, that in his long life, and under all assaults, he made no reply to his enemies. He absolutely denied the right of any being, except his Maker, to call in question his religious belief, and thus he lived and died.

In a private letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, dated April 21st, 1803, he wrote of his religious opinions:

"They are the result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and very different from that anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed, but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus Himself. I am a Christian in the sense in which He wished any one to be, sincerely attached to His doctrines in preference to all others, ascribing to Himself every human excellence, and believing He never claimed any other."

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To his young grandson, when life had almost faded away, and he could feel upon his aged brow the breath of eternity, he wrote:

"This letter will be to you as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate father has requested that I would address you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I, too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course.

"Few words will be necessary with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence, so that the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it be permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard."

If this be atheism or infidelity, what honest man or pure woman will not pray that the world be filled with unbelief?

To Jefferson the doctrines of primogeniture, entail, and an established church were but part and parcel of the system which gave to certain families the divine right of governing their fellow men, and against this heresy, with all its incidents and corollaries, he made untiring and relentless war until the end of life.

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To him there was but one creed in matters spiritual or temporal:

"All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In addition to the legislation abolishing primogeniture, entail, and an established church, Jefferson, at the same session of the Assembly, introduced and passed a bill fixing the terms upon which foreigners should be admitted as citizens of Virginia, and this act became the model for the general naturalization law of the United States. Under a resolution introduced by himself in October, 1776, he commenced the next summer, in connection with Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe, a revision of the laws of Virginia, and in 1779, after three years of arduous labor, the work was completed.

But his great ambition was to establish a system of common schools, which should place a liberal education within the reach of every child in Virginia, to create high schools, found a library at Richmond, at a cost of two thousand pounds a year, and change William and Mary College into a University. With indefatigable zeal he perfected all the details, but the war absorbed the entire resources of the commonwealth, and long years of eventful history passed before he realized any part of his cherished plans.

On June 1st, 1779, Jefferson was inaugurated Governor of Virginia, succeeding Patrick Henry, the first executive of the State. From the day of his

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inauguration to the hour when he retired from office, he was overwhelmed with difficulties, before which an ordinary man would have shrunk appalled and hopeless.

Without navy, arms or money, Jefferson was expected to defend an exposed seaboard, furnish supplies to the Virginia troops in the field, and prevent the horrors of an Indian war on the western border.

All that could be done by unflagging energy and the wisest forethought he accomplished, but in 1780 the storm of war burst with relentless fury upon Virginia.

Gates was defeated at Camden, the traitor Arnold sailed up the James, burning and pillaging on either side, until he captured Richmond, whilst news came that Washington's army was on the eve of dissolution.

In 1781 Cornwallis invaded Virginia from the South, and a troop of cavalry dashed upon Monticello with the hope of capturing Governor Jefferson. Five minutes before their arrival Jefferson escaped, and his faithful slaves refused, under bribes and threats, to give information of the route he had taken.

As always in the hour of national calamity, a scapegoat was necessary to appease the popular disquietude, and Jefferson was in this instance the victim. Conscious of his faithful discharge of duty, he chafed under these assaults as never before or

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after, and although acquitted by the unanimous vote of the Assembly, declared that he would never accept another public trust, and that, with the close of the war, his political career had ended.

Surrounded at Monticello by his family, to whom he was tenderly attached, and with his books and flowers, Jefferson looked forward to years of quiet happiness, such as every man, worn with the battle of life, has pictured in his day dreams of the future. But Providence had destined otherwise.

In the spring of 1782 death robbed him of a wife whose beauty and accomplishments gave to Monticello the most charming mistress that ever blessed a Virginia home, and from a stupor of grief Jefferson awoke, anxious to leave the scenes which constantly reminded him of his irreparable loss.

Again he plunged into the vortex of politics, and in 1783 we find him at Annapolis, ready to take his seat in Congress, to which he had been recently elected. Again he devoted himself with untiring assiduity to public business, and, as chairman of the Committee on Coins and Currency, gave to his country and the world a system of coinage on the decimal basis, the most perfect known amongst men.

At the same session he introduced the celebrated ordinance, afterwards enacted in 1787, by which Virginia gave to the Union the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

On May 17th, 1784, Jefferson was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to assist Mr. Adams and Dr. Frank-

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lin, then abroad, in concluding commercial treaties with Great Britain, Holland, and other governments, on "the footing of the most favored nation," and on March 10th, 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as Minister to France.

Jefferson remained in Europe five years, residing in Paris, and watching with deepest interest the great drama of the French Revolution. He witnessed the fall of the Bastile, and the massacre of the Swiss Guards; but, like Charles James Fox, he saw through the blood and horror the outlines of liberty; and, unlike Burke, he beheld in the French queen, not only a beautiful and unfortunate woman, but the reckless, self-indulgent cause of her husband's ruin.

"This angel, as gaudily painted in the rhapsodies of Burke," he wrote forty years afterwards, "with some smartness of fancy, but no sound sense, was proud, disdainful of restraint, indignant at all obstacles to her will, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, and firm enough to hold to her desires or perish in their wreck.

"Her inordinate gambling and dissipations, with those of the Count d'Artois and others of her clique, had been a sensible item in the exhaustion of the treasury, which called into action the reforming hand of the nation; and her opposition to it, her inflexible perverseness and dauntless spirit, led herself to the guillotine, drew the king on with her, and plunged the world into crimes and calamities which

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will forever stain the pages of modern history. I have ever believed that, had there been no queen, there would have been no revolution; no force would have been provoked or exercised."

Like John Knox, in the days of Mary, Queen of Scots, Jefferson could not appreciate the beauty which looked, without pity, on the starving multitude, and listened, without emotion, to the cries of her unfortunate people.

Jefferson looked with contemptuous amazement upon the French court feasting and dancing at Versailles, while the hungry people roared and surged through the streets of Paris.

> "Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher
> Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire."

The glamour of royalty did not seem to affect this stern republican, who rejected with scorn the divine right of kings.

In one of his letters he writes thus of the monarchs then occupying the proudest thrones of earth:

"While I was in Europe I often amused myself in contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the Sixteenth was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week over one thousand miles to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding

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days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, Braganza, was an idiot by nature, and so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to Frederick the Great, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind.

"Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a straight waistcoat. There remained then none but old Catherine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense.

"In this state Bonaparte found Europe, and it was the state of the rulers which lost it without a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless, and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations."

Every fibre of Jefferson's being sympathized with the unfortunate people whose sweat and blood had been wrung from them for centuries, to feed these royal animals, and every hour in Europe added to his hatred of the monarchical system.

In February, 1787, he left Paris, and traveled incognito through the fairest provinces of France, investigating the home life of the people, their houses, food and modes of agriculture.

Besides attending to his diplomatic duties and making commercial treaties with all the principal nations of Europe, Jefferson found time to correspond with leading scientists upon chemistry, astron-

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omy, geology and natural history. He collected and shipped to the United States seeds and plants of all kinds suitable to our soil and climate, and procured for Buffon, the great naturalist, specimens of the animals and birds peculiar to this continent.

When in France, he wrote and published his celebrated "Notes on Virginia," which attracted universal attention, and passed through several editions.

Whilst making treaties, writing philosophical essays, and watching the revolution, this remarkable man invented an improved plough, which was awarded a medal by the Royal Agricultural Society of the Seine, and was exhibited to William C. Rives, Minister to France in 1853, as "The Prize Plough of Thomas Jefferson;" afterwards he invented the revolving chair, now found in so many offices and households.

Rice was largely consumed in France, and anxious to know why the American article was unable to compete successfully with that raised in Southern Europe, he made a journey across the Alps in 1787, into the rice-growing districts, and being unable to procure some improved seed rice, which he discovered there, on account of laws prohibiting its exportation, he filled the pockets of his coat and overcoat with the best rice, of the best rice-producing district of Italy, and sent it to Charleston. It came to hand safely, was distributed in quantities of ten and twelve grains to planters, and being carefully

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tended, furnished South Carolina the best rice in the world.

After five years of unremitting toil for his country and mankind, Jefferson was compelled to give some attention to his private affairs, and left Paris in October, 1789, with his two daughters, expecting to return within a year. On November 17, 1789, he landed safely at Norfolk, and found an invitation from Washington to become Secretary of State.

With reluctance, but acting under a sense of public obligation, he accepted the office, and entered upon its duties.

Accustomed, as Jefferson must have been, to the uncertainty of political events and the mutations of public sentiment, he was profoundly astonished to find that a powerful party had come into existence in the United States, which distrusted the people, and favored a strong, if not monarchical government. At the head of this party was the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton.

It was not possible that harmony, nor any relation except that of antagonism, should exist between Jefferson and Hamilton. They were both men of great ability, positive convictions, and with views utterly irreconcilable as to the government.

Jefferson was the incarnate principle of Democracy, pure and simple, without alloy. Hamilton had no sympathy with the people or popular government.

Notwithstanding the great authority of Wash-

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ington, and the influence which his character exercised upon all who approached him, there soon occurred an open rupture between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury.

In February, 1792, Jefferson mentioned to the President his intention to retire from the Cabinet, and, when pressed for his reasons, frankly stated that it was impossible for Colonel Hamilton and himself to continue together in the administration, and that now a proposition had been brought forward, the decision of which must definitely determine "whether we live under a limited or unlimited government."

"To what proposition do you allude?" asked the President.

"To that," replied Jefferson, "in the report of manufactures (by Hamilton), which, under color of giving bounties for the encouragement of particular manufactures, meant to establish the doctrine that the Constitution, in giving power to Congress to provide for the general welfare, permitted Congress to take everything under their charge which they should deem for the public welfare. If this was maintained, then the enumeration of powers in the Constitution does not at all constitute the limits of their authority."

If Jefferson should now revisit the earth he would find the same doctrine advanced even amongst those who claim to be exponents of his principles and teaching.

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In the meantime all Europe was preparing to attack France, and the question presented to Washington's Cabinet was whether the United States should remain neutral or assist the people who had assisted us in our struggle for independence.

On April 22d, 1793, the proclamation for neutrality was issued, and on the same day Citizen Genet arrived in a French frigate as Minister to the United States from the French Republic.

He was received with such tumultuous acclamation as was never before or since given to any ambassador or visitor to our shores. Public meetings, banquets, oratory and music evidenced the deep feeling of the American people for the cause of France. A storm of indignation burst upon Washington and his Cabinet for refusing to give immediate assistance to our allies of the War for Independence, then struggling against the combined despotism of Europe, led by England.

It is impossible for us to realize now the popular excitement of those eventful days, or the clamor raised about the government; but Washington and his Cabinet stood firm, and the result justified the wisdom of their course.

Jefferson's correspondence with Genet and the English Minister, afterwards published by order of Congress, stands to-day and will forever remain the most wonderful exhibition of learning, skill and moderation to be found in the annals of diplomacy.

Jefferson retired from Washington's Cabinet on

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January the 1st, 1794, the acknowledged leader of the Republican party, and with the compliments and plaudits of his countrymen. Even his enemies were forced to admit that his correspondence with Genet had exhibited the highest order of ability, and had shown him to be both patriot and statesman.

In 1796 he was called from Monticello to become Vice-President, Mr. Adams having received in the Electoral College seventy-one votes and Mr. Jefferson sixty-eight, which resulted, as the Constitution then provided, in making the former President and the latter Vice-President of the United States.

To the duties of this office he brought the same industry and learning as to every other position.

When a young lawyer, beginning his public career as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he had adopted the practice of noting down in a small leather-bound volume rules and precedents in parliamentary law, and upon this as a basis he now prepared his "Manual of Parliamentary Practice," the highest authority in legislative proceedings known to the civilized world.

In the meantime the Federalists and Republicans were marshaling their forces for the Presidential contest of 1800. The conservative and mediatory influence of Washington had been withdrawn, and party spirit raged untrammeled.

The press was in the hands of the Federalists, and Jefferson the mark at which all their arrows

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were aimed. He was pictured as an atheist, libertine, a monster in human form. One of the favorite charges against him was that he was an ally of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Corsican tyrant. The political preácher had already appeared in the Presidential canvass, and although not so alliterative as in modern times, was equally as sensational.

The great preacher then in New York was Dr. John Mason, and he was shocked beyond measure to find from the "Notes on Virginia" that Jefferson had doubts as to there having been a universal deluge. Some days before the election Dr. Mason published a pamphlet entitled, "The Voice of Warning to Christians on the Ensuing Election," in which he exclaimed: "Christians! It is thus that a man whom you are expected to elevate to the chief magistracy insults yourself and your Bible."

We can imagine what sort of partisan this reverend politician must have been when we learn that in one of his sermons he paused and with uplifted hands and eyes burst into prayer:

"Send us, if Thou wilt, murrain upon our cattle, a famine upon our land, cleanness of teeth in our borders; send us pestilence to waste our cities; send us, if it pleases Thee, the sword to bathe itself in the blood of our sons, but spare us, Lord God Most Merciful, spare us that curse—most dreadful of all curses—an alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte."

As he uttered these words the blood gushed from his nostrils, but putting his handkerchief to his

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face he then waved it aloft as if a bloody banner in the coming contest.

Through all this scandal and vituperation, temporal and ecclesiastical, the people, as they always do, discerned the true issue, and the Republicans were successful. Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three votes in the Electoral College to sixty-five for Adams, sixty-four for Pinckney, and one for Jay; and after some weeks of great excitement the House of Representatives ratified the will of the people by making Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. The alien and sedition laws had done their work, and the first Republican administration assumed control of the government.

The new President rode to the Capitol on horseback, hitched his steed to the palings, and quietly took the oath of office. There was no procession, no inaugural ball, no show and parade. Right or wrong, this was Jefferson's idea of a Republic, and the commencement of a Republican administration.

During the administrations of Washington and Adams the absurd custom of Congress being opened by the President with a personal address had been adopted, in imitation of the English system, but Jefferson quietly transmitted his message in writing, and such has been the custom ever since.

He also refused to hold weekly levees, where a mob of sweating and uncomfortable people, in tawdry finery, torture each other and the President until life becomes a burden, but this travesty on

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common sense has since returned to plague the Chief Executive and disgust the sensible public.

Jefferson sought to simplify the government and relieve it from the display and extravagance by which monarchy aimed to dazzle the people and conceal the outrages inflicted upon them.

The trinity of his political faith was a strict construction of the Constitution, economy in expenditures, and honest men in office.

His inaugural on March the 4th, 1801, should be treasured with Washington's Farewell Address.

"Equal and exact justice to men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political, peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, when peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority, the vital principle of republics from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate source of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of

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war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusing of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of persons under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected."

The first important act of Mr. Jefferson's administration was to dispatch three frigates and one sloop of our small navy to the Mediterranean, for the purpose of overaweing the Algerine pirates and terminating their daring attacks upon American commerce.

When Minister to France, he had been annoyed and irritated by the fact that the United States and other nations were compelled to pay tribute to these buccaneers. One bill sent to Mr. Jefferson for the ransom of an American crew was as follows:

For three captains, $6,000 each, $18,000; for two mates, $4,000 each, $8,000; for two passengers, $4,000 each, $8,000; for fourteen seamen, $1,400 each, $19,600; total, $53,600.

Jefferson was determined that this national disgrace should be obliterated, and history shows how well and thoroughly the gallant Decatur carried out the instructions of his chief.

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The most splendid achievement of Jefferson's administration, however, was the acquisition by purchase from Napoleon of the Louisiana Territory, which extended our limits from ocean to ocean and gave us the mouth of the Mississippi.

When the treaty was signed at Paris, Mr. Livingstone, one of the Commissioners, said:

"We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art nor dictated by force. It will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts, and from this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. * * * The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed. They prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures.

"The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and bad government."

"If to the dead it be permitted to care for the things of this world," with what satisfaction must the spirit of Jefferson to-day look down upon this vast domain acquired by his patriotic foresight; a land of plenty, filled with happy homes, and temples devoted to education, science and art.

After acquiring Louisiana, including the vast region stretching to the Pacific, Mr. Jefferson's next

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object was to ascertain the nature and resources of these possessions, and for this purpose the expedition of Lewis and Clarke left St. Louis in 1805, came up the Missouri, and for two years, four months, and ten days was lost to civilization, and exposed to danger and hardships, the recital of which equals the stories of romance.

Not many months after the acquisition of Louisiana, intelligence reached the President of the treasonable design of Aaron Burr to seize upon the mouth of the Mississippi, invade Mexico, and establish a southwestern empire. After the death of Hamilton, Burr had served out his term as Vice-President, presiding at the impeachment trial of Judge Chase, and then finding his public career ended, his restless ambition had conceived the scheme which ruined Blennerhassett, and made himself an outcast and wanderer.

Party rancor attempted at the time to make Burr a martyr and Jefferson a tyrant, but impartial history has long since entered the judgment that the President was right, and that Burr was guilty of the designs attributed to him.

The latter part of Jefferson's second term was clouded with the prospect of war with England, and with the distress caused by the embargo, which he enforced to the end of his administration, in the hope of averting an expensive and ruinous conflict of arms.

In 1809, with the country four times greater in resources and territory than in 1800, his second

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term as President closed, and after forty-four years' public service he transferred the government to his friend, James Madison, and went back to Monticello, and to the labor of love, which had been amongst the dreams of his early ambition. His whole energies were now devoted to establishing the University of Virginia, upon a system singularly illustrative of that equality and liberty which formed the leading characteristic of Jefferson's life and opinions. The University differs from other American colleges in these particulars: There is no president, and all the professors are of equal rank except that one of them is elected chairman of the faculty. The University is simply a group of schools, and the student himself chooses the studies he elects to pursue. Unlike other institutions, there is no rule requiring a student to attend religious exercises, but his conduct in this regard is governed entirely by his own sense of right.

The ruling idea in every detail is an absence of coercion, and an appeal to manhood and conscience.

Jefferson lived seventeen years after the close of his public career, and his last hours were embittered by the pressure of debts which he was unable to satisfy. His splendid library, a portion of it left him by George Wythe, was sold to the United States, and he was finally compelled to ask the legislature of Virginia to authorize him to dispose of his lands by lottery, in order to meet the harassing liabilities pressing upon him.

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Although an exact man, Jefferson practiced the hospitality which prevailed in Virginia everywhere at that time, and he had never learned the modern methods by which a public officer can in a few years become a millionaire upon a small salary. When he left Washington City he was forced to borrow ten thousand dollars to pay debts contracted for household expenses, and whilst we may deprecate the style of living which necessitated such outlay, we must admire the integrity that procured the money to meet the debt by a mortgage upon Monticello, rather than by a raid upon the public treasury.

On July the 4th, 1826, as the accentuating cannon and the glad acclaim of a free people saluted the birthday of American Independence, Jefferson's life ended peacefully and serenely at Monticello. On the same day at his home in Massachusetts, John Adams passed away.

No longer rivals nor political opponents, they met together the last enemy of all our race.

Gentlemen of the Jefferson Club, you have taken the name and are pledged to the principles of him who established the Democratic party. No responsibility can be greater, for the defeat of these principles and the destruction of the organization based upon them, means the end of free institutions upon this continent.

The Democratic party holds that there should be no partnership between the government and any individual or class, but that all the benefits and

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burdens of the government should be equally and justly distributed, every citizen being protected in life, liberty and property, and made the architect of his own fortune.

It holds that all property should be taxed in proportion to the protection received from the government; and it does not believe in the system under which a capitalist pays no more upon his hundreds of millions to support the national government, than does the poorest citizen who must in war risk life and limb to protect these millions.

The Democratic party is national, not sectional, and cannot exist on one issue. It is coexistent with the whole Union and with the autonomy of our government.

You may believe in the single gold standard and I in the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, but if we are Jeffersonian Democrats, there is no other political home for us than the old party which has existed for a hundred years in peace and war, sunshine and shadow, in every township, county, and State of the entire Union.

No greater calamity could come to this country or the world than the disruption of the great organization which was founded by the author of the Declaration of American Independence.

Upon the canvas of the past, Washington and Jefferson stand forth the central figures in our struggle for independence. The character of the former was so rounded and justly proportioned, that

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so long as our country lives, or a single community of Americans can be found, Washington will be "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

To Washington we are more indebted than to any one man for national existence; but what availed the heroism of Bunker Hill, the sufferings of Valley Forge, or the triumph of Yorktown, if the government they established had been but an imitation of the monarchy from which we had separated?

To Jefferson we owe eternal gratitude for his sublime confidence in popular government, and his unfaltering courage in defending at all times and in all places, the great truth, that "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The love of liberty is found not in palaces, but with the poor and oppressed. It flutters in the heart of the caged bird, and sighs with the worn and wasted prisoner in his dungeon. It has gone with martyrs to the stake, and kissed their burning lips as the tortured spirit winged its flight to God!

In the temple of this deity Jefferson was high priest!

For myself, I worship no mortal man living or dead; but if I could kneel at such a shrine, it would be with uncovered head and loving heart at the grave of Thomas Jefferson.

George Graham Vest

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Once more I'll tune the vocal shell
To hills & dales my passion tell
A flame which time can never quell
That burns for Lovely Peggy.
Ye greater bards the Lyre shou'd hit
For say what subject is more fit
Than to record the sparkling wit
And bloom of Lovely Peggy.

The sun first rising in the morn
That paints the dew besprangled thorn
Does not so much the day adorn
As does my Lovely Peggy.
And when in Thetis lap to rest
He streaks with gold the ruddy West
He's not so beauteous as undrest
Appears my Lovely Peggy.

Were she arrayed in rustic weed
With her the bleating flocks I'd feed
And pipe upon mine oaten reed
To please my Lovely Peggy
With her a cottage would delight
All's happy when she's in my sight
But when she's gone the endless night
All's sad without my Peggy

The Zephyr's air the violet blows
Or breath upon the damask rose
He does not half his sweets disclose
That does my Lovely Peggy.
I stole a kiss the other day
And tho' me, nought but truth I say
The fragrant breath of blooming May
Was not so sweet as Peggy.

While bees from flow'r to flow'r shall rove
And linnets warble thro' the grove
Or stately swans the waters love
So long shall I love Peggy
And when death with his pointed dart
Shall strike the blow that rives my heart
My words shall be when I depart
Adieu my Lovely Peggy.

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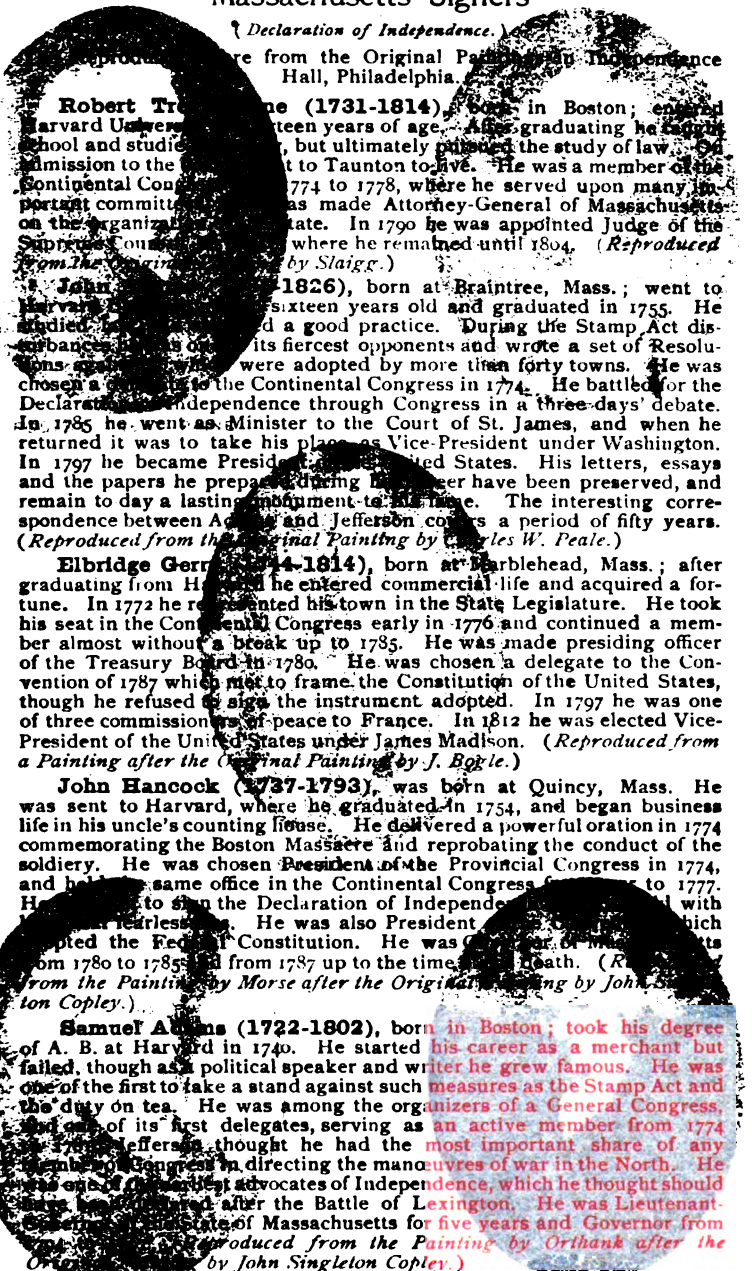
Massachusetts Signers

(Declaration of Independence.)



re from the Original Painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Robert Tre[illegible]ne (1731-1814), born in Boston; entered Harvard Un[illegible]teen years of age. After graduating he taught school and studie[illegible], but ultimately pursued the study of law. On admission to the [illegible]t to Taunton to live. He was a member of the Continental Con[illegible]1774 to 1778, where he served upon many important committ[illegible]as made Attorney-General of Massachusetts on the organiz[illegible]tate. In 1790 he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court, where he remained until 1804. *(Reproduced from the Original Painting by Slaigg.)*

John [illegible]-1826), born at Braintree, Mass.; went to Harvard [illegible] sixteen years old and graduated in 1755. He studied l[illegible]d a good practice. During the Stamp Act disturbances [illegible] its fiercest opponents and wrote a set of Resolutions [illegible] were adopted by more than forty towns. He was chosen a [illegible] to the Continental Congress in 1774. He battled for the Declarat[illegible]ndependence through Congress in a three days' debate. In 1785 he went as Minister to the Court of St. James, and when he returned it was to take his pla[illegible] as Vice-President under Washington. In 1797 he became Preside[illegible]ted States. His letters, essays and the papers he prepa[illegible]during h[illegible]eer have been preserved, and remain to day a lasting monument to his fame. The interesting correspondence between Adams and Jefferson covers a period of fifty years. *(Reproduced from the Original Painting by Charles W. Peale.)*

Elbridge Gerry [illegible]4-1814), born at Marblehead, Mass.; after graduating from H[illegible] he entered commercial life and acquired a fortune. In 1772 he represented his town in the State Legislature. He took his seat in the Continental Congress early in 1776 and continued a member almost without a break up to 1785. He was made presiding officer of the Treasury Board in 1780. He was chosen a delegate to the Convention of 1787 which met to frame the Constitution of the United States, though he refused to sign the instrument adopted. In 1797 he was one of three commissioners of peace to France. In 1812 he was elected Vice-President of the United States under James Madison. *(Reproduced from a Painting after the Original Painting by J. Boggle.)*

John Hancock (1737-1793), was born at Quincy, Mass. He was sent to Harvard, where he graduated in 1754, and began business life in his uncle's counting house. He delivered a powerful oration in 1774 commemorating the Boston Massacre and reprobating the conduct of the soldiery. He was chosen President of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and held the same office in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1777. He was the first to sign the Declaration of Independe[illegible]d with [illegible] fearless[illegible]. He was also President [illegible] which adopted the Federal Constitution. He was Governor of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1785 and from 1787 up to the time of his death. *(Reproduced from the Painting by Morse after the Original Painting by John Singleton Copley.)*

Samuel Adams (1722-1802), born in Boston; took his degree of A. B. at Harvard in 1740. He started his career as a merchant but failed, though as a political speaker and writer he grew famous. He was one of the first to take a stand against such measures as the Stamp Act and the duty on tea. He was among the organizers of a General Congress and one of its first delegates, serving as an active member from 1774 to 1781. Jefferson thought he had the most important share of any member of Congress in directing the manœuvres of war in the North. He was one of the earliest advocates of Independence, which he thought should [illegible] declared after the Battle of Lexington. He was Lieutenant-Governor [illegible] State of Massachusetts for five years and Governor from [illegible] *(Reproduced from the Painting by Orthank after the Original [illegible] by John Singleton Copley.)*

JOHN HANCOCK

ELBRIDGE GERRY

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ROBERT TREAT PAINE

JOHN ADAMS

SAMUEL ADAMS

JOHN HANCOCK

ELBRIDGE GERRY

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE SHARPLESS JEFFERSON ..... *Frontispiece*

Photogravure from the Original Painting by James Sharpless.

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Facsimile reproduction of the Original Love Poem by Thomas Jefferson, in possession of the Philadelphia Historical Society.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTERS WRITTEN AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

1789–1826.

(CONTINUED.)

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JEFFERSON'S WORKS.

LETTERS WRITTEN AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

1789–1826.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1808.

On considering the papers which James Brown sent us, containing a statement of the parcels of property in and adjacent to New Orleans, to which the United States claims, we thought it safest to await the report of the commissioners, with their list of the property. The papers received yesterday by express from New Orleans, and now enclosed to you, give us a list of the property, and grounds of claim from the common council of the city. Having thus the statement, as it were, from both parties, I suppose we may consider the list as complete. It would therefore be only losing a year to wait for the report of the commissioners, and especially as the property is suffering. What shall we do? There are two questions,—first, which of these parcels do

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really belong to the United States? Second, how shall they be disposed of? On the first question, I presume Congress will not decide themselves, but either leave it to the present commissioners, or appoint others of higher standing and abilities, at least for the future, which is of too much value, and too much involved in prejudices *there*, to be safely trusted to the present commissioners. On the second question, perhaps Congress might now desire the Executive, so soon as the titles are decided, to state to them the parcels which should be kept for the government use, and then give to the city such as they need, and dispose of the rest as they see best.

Will you favor me with your ideas what is best to be done? Affectionate salutations.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JAMES SULLIVAN.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of February 8th, covering the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, was received in due time. It is a circumstance of great satisfaction that the proceedings of the government are approved by the respectable Legislature of Massachusetts, and especially the late important measure of the embargo. The hearty concurrence of the States in that measure, will have a great effect in Europe. I derive great personal consolation from the assurances in your friendly letter, that the electors of Massachusetts would still

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have viewed me with favor as a candidate for a third presidential term But the duty of retirement is so strongly impressed on my mind, that it is impossible for me to think of that. If I can carry into retirement the good will of my fellow-citizens, nothing else will be wanting to my happiness.

Your letter of February 7th, with a recommendation for Salem, and that of the 8th recalling it, were both received. I dare say you have found that the solicitations for office are the most painful incidents to which an executive magistrate is exposed. The ordinary affairs of a nation offer little difficulty to a person of any experience; but the gift of office is the dreadful burden which oppresses him. A person who wishes to make it an engine of self-elevation, may do wonders with it; but to one who wishes to use it conscientiously for the public good, without regard to the ties of blood or friendship, it creates enmities without numbers, many open, but more secret, and saps the happiness and peace of his life.

I pray you to accept my friendly salutations, and assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO COLONEL JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—

* * * * * * * * *

From your letter of the 27th ultimo, I perceive that painful impressions have been made on your

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mind during your late mission, of which I had never entertained a suspicion. I must, therefore, examine the grounds, because explanations between reasonable men can never but do good. 1. You consider the mission of Mr. Pinckney as an associate, to have been in some way injurious to you. Were I to take that measure on myself, I might say in its justification, that it has been the regular and habitual practice of the United States to do this, under every form in which their government has existed. I need not recapitulate the multiplied instances, because you will readily recollect them. I went as an adjunct to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, yourself as an adjunct first to Mr. Livingston, and then to Mr. Pinckney, and I really believe there has scarcely been a great occasion which has not produced an extraordinary mission. Still, however, it is well known that I was strongly opposed to it in the case of which you complain. A committee of the Senate called on me with two resolutions of that body, on the subject of impressment and spoliations by Great Britain, and requesting that I would demand satisfaction. After delivering the resolutions, the committee entered into free conversation, and observed, that although the Senate could not, in form, recommend any extraordinary mission, yet that as individuals, there was but one sentiment among them on the measure, and they pressed it. I was so much averse to it, and gave them so hard an answer, that they felt it, and spoke of it. But

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it did not end here. The members of the other House took up the subject, and set upon me individually, and these the best friends to you, as well as myself, and represented the responsibility which a failure to obtain redress would throw on us both, pursuing a conduct in opposition to the opinion of nearly every member of the Legislature. I found it necessary, at length, to yield my own opinion to the general use of the national council, and it really seemed to produce a jubilee among them; not from any want of confidence in you, but from a belief in the effect which an extraordinary mission would have on the British mind, by demonstrating the degree of importance which this country attached to the rights which we considered as infracted.

2. You complain of the manner in which the treaty was received. But what was that manner? I cannot suppose you to have given a moment's credit to the stuff which was crowded in all sorts of forms into the public papers, or to the thousand speeches they put into my mouth, not a word of which I had ever uttered I was not insensible at the time of the views to mischief, with which these lies were fabricated. But my confidence was firm, that neither yourself nor the British government, equally outraged by them, would believe me capable of making the editors of newspapers the confidants of my speeches or opinions. The fact was this. The treaty was communicated to us by Mr. Erskine on the day Congress was to rise. Two of the

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Senators inquired of me in the evening, whether it was my purpose to detain them on account of the treaty. My answer was, "that it was not: that the treaty containing no provision against the impressment of our seamen, and being accompanied by a kind of protestation of the British ministers, which would leave that government free to consider it as a treaty or no treaty, according to their own convenience, I should not give them the trouble of deliberating on it." This was substantially, and almost verbally, what I said whenever spoken to about it, and I never failed when the occasion would admit of it, to justify yourself and Mr. Pinckney, by expressing my conviction, that it was all that could be obtained from the British government; that you had told their commissioners that your government could not be pledged to ratify, because it was contrary to their instructions; of course, that it should be considered but as a project; and in this light I stated it publicly in my message to Congress on the opening of the session. Not a single article of the treaty was ever made known beyond the members of the administration, nor would an article of it be known at this day, but for its publication in the newspapers, as communicated by somebody from beyond the water, as we have always understood. But as to myself, I can solemnly protest, as the most sacred of truths, that I never, one instant, lost sight of your reputation and favorable standing with your country, and never omitted

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to justify your failure to attain our wish, as one which was probably unattainable. Reviewing therefore, this whole subject, I cannot doubt you will become sensible, that your impressions have been without just ground. I cannot, indeed, judge what falsehoods may have been written or told you; and that, under such forms as to command belief. But you will soon find, my dear Sir, that so inveterate is the rancor of party spirit among us, that nothing ought to be credited but what we hear with our own ears. If you are less on your guard than we are here, at this moment, the designs of the mischief-makers will not fail to be accomplished, and brethren and friends will be made strangers and enemies to each other, without ever having said or thought a thing amiss of each other. I presume that the most insidious falsehoods are daily carried to you, as they are brought to me, to engage us in the passions of our informers, and stated so positively and plausibly as to make even *doubt* a rudeness to the narrator, who, imposed on himself, has no other than the friendly view of putting us on our guard. My answer is, invariably, that my knowledge of your character is better testimony to me of a negative, than any affirmative which my informant did not hear *from yourself* with his own ears. In fact, when you shall have been a little longer among us, you will find that little is to be believed which interests the prevailing passions, and happens beyond the limits of our own senses. Let us not then, my dear

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friend, embark our happiness and our affections on the ocean of slander, of falsehood and of malice, on which our credulous friends are floating. If you have been made to believe that I ever did, said, or thought a thing unfriendly to your fame and feelings, you do me injury as causeless as it is afflicting to me. In the present contest in which you are concerned, I feel no passion I take no part I express no sentiment. Whichever of my friends is called to the supreme cares of the nation, I know that they will be wisely and faithfully administered, and as far as my individual conduct can influence, they shall be cordially supported For myself I have nothing further to ask of the world, than to preserve in retirement so much of their esteem as I may have fairly earned, and to be permitted to pass in tranquillity, in the bosom of my family and friends, the days which yet remain for me. Having reached the harbor myself, I shall view with anxiety (but certainly not with a wish to be in their place) those who are still buffeting the storm, uncertain of their fate. Your voyage has so far been favorable, and that it may continue with entire prosperity, is the sincere prayer of that friendship which I have ever borne you, and of which I now assure you with the tender of my high respect and affectionate salutations.

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TO RICHARD M. JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1808.

SIR,—I am sure you can too justly estimate my occupations, to need an apology for this tardy acknowledgment of your favor of February the 27th. I cannot but be deeply sensible of the good opinion you are pleased to express of my conduct in the administration of our government. This approbation of my fellow-citizens is the richest reward I can receive. I am conscious of having always intended to do what was best for them; and never, for a single moment, to have listened to any personal interest of my own. It has been a source of great pain to me, to have met with so many among our opponents, who had not the liberality to distinguish between political and social opposition; who transferred at once to the person, the hatred they bore to his political opinions. I suppose, indeed, that in public life, a man whose political principles have any decided character, and who has energy enough to give them effect, must always expect to encounter political hostility from those of adverse principles. But I came to the government under circumstances calculated to generate peculiar acrimony. I found all its offices in the possession of a political sect, who wished to transform it ultimately into the shape of their darling model, the English government; and in the meantime, to familiarize the public mind to the change, by administering it on

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English principles, and in English forms. The elective interposition of the people had blown all their designs, and they found themselves and their fortresses of power and profit put in a moment into the hands of other trustees. Lamentations and invective were all that remained to them. This last was naturally directed against the agent selected to execute the multiplied reformations, which their heresies had rendered necessary. I became of course the butt of everything which reason, ridicule, malice and falsehood could supply. They have concentrated all their hatred on me, till they have really persuaded themselves, that I am the sole source of all their imaginary evils. I hope, therefore, that my retirement will abate some of their disaffection to the government of their country, and that my successor will enter on a calmer sea than I did. He will at least find the vessel of state in the hands of his friends, and not of his foes. Federalism is dead, without even the hope of a day of resurrection. The quondam leaders, indeed, retain their rancor and principles; but their followers are amalgamated with us in sentiment, if not in name. If our fellow-citizens, now solidly republican, will sacrifice favoritism towards men for the preservation of principle, we may hope that no divisions will again endanger a degeneracy in our government.

* * * * * * * * *

I pray you to accept my salutations, and assurances of great esteem and respect.

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Engrossed Declaration of Independence

Photo-engraving from the Original Parchment in the Department of State at Washington, D. C.

For the preservation of the Declaration of Independence, and to give it a more durable form than offered by paper and ink, the Continental Congress on July 19, 1776, "*Resolved*, That the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America;' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress."

On August 2, 1776, the Declaration, having been engrossed and compared with the original document, was signed by the fifty-six members.

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IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. ——— We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. ——— He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. ——— He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. ——— He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. ——— He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. ——— He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. ——— He has refused for along time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. ——— He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. ——— He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. ——— He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount

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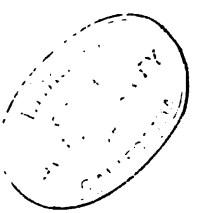

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TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1808.

I suppose we must despatch another packet by the 1st of April at farthest. I take it to be an universal opinion that war will become preferable to a continuance of the embargo after a certain time. Should we not then avail ourselves of the intervening period to procure a retraction of the obnoxious decrees peaceably, if possible? An opening is given us by both parties, sufficient to form a basis for such a proposition.

I wish you to consider, therefore, the following course of proceeding, to wit:

To instruct our m nisters at Paris and London, by the next packet, to propose immediately to both those powers a declaration on both sides that these decrees and orders shall no longer be extended to vessels of the United States, in which case we shall remain faithfully neutral; but, without assuming the air of menace, to let them both perceive that if they do not withdraw these orders and decrees, there will arrive a time when our interests will render war preferable to a continuance of the embargo; that when that time arrives, if one has withdrawn and the other not, we must declare war against that other; if neither shall have withdrawn, we must take our choice of enemies between them. This it will certainly be our duty to have ascertained by the time Congress shall meet in the fall

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or beginning of winter; so that taking off the embargo, they may decide whether war must be declared, and against whom. Affectionate salutations.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM H. CABELL.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received last night your favor of the 10th. There can certainly be no present objection to the forwarding the letters therein mentioned, according to their address.

We have nothing new of importance, except that at the last reading of an amendatory bill a few days ago, the House of Representatives were surprised into the insertion of an insidious clause permitting any merchant having *property* abroad, on proving it to the executive, to send a ship for it. We are already overwhelmed with applications, and there is real danger that the great object of the embargo in keeping our ships and seamen out of harm's way, will be defeated; and every vessel and seaman sent out under this pretext, and placed in the prize of the belligerent tyrants. I salute you with friendship and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1808.

I think it will be impossible to form general rules for carrying into execution the seventh section of

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the law of March 12th, without a fuller view of the number and nature of the cases which are to come under it. I have waited in expectation the applications would multiply so as to give one a general view, but I have received but about half a dozen. But, indeed, nothing short of a knowledge of all the cases can enable us to provide for them. I have been wishing, therefore, to converse with you on this proposition; to wit. to direct the collectors to advertise in their respective ports, that all persons desiring the benefit of that law, must *immediately* deliver to him a statement of the *place* where they have property, its *amount*, whether *cash* or *goods*, and what *kind* of goods, and in whose *hands*, on oath, but without exhibiting other proofs till further called on. These particulars may be stated in a tabular view; for *cash* we might authorize vessels to go immediately, but for goods rules must be framed on a view of all circumstances.

With respect to the constitution of the act, there are cases in the books where the word "may" has been adjudged equivalent to "shall," but the term "is authorized," unless followed by "and required," was, I think, never so considered. On the contrary, I believe it is the very term which Congress always use toward the executive when they mean to give a power to him, and leave the use of it to his discretion.

It is the very phrase on which there is now a difference in the House of Representatives, on the bill

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for raising 6,000 regulars, which says "there shall be raised," and some desire it to say "the President is authorized to raise," leaving him the power with a discretion to use it or not. It is to be observed also that the one construction puts it in the power of individuals to defeat the embargo in a great measure, while the other leaves a power to combine a due regard to the object of the law with the interests of individuals. I like your idea of proportioning the tonnage of the vessel to the value (in some degree) of the property, but its bulk must also be taken into consideration. On the whole, I should be for giving prompt permission to bring home money, because one vessel will bring for all those who have cash at the same port; but the bringing property in other forms, will require a fuller view and digest of rules. Affectionate salutations.

TO W. C. NICHOLAS, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 18th is duly received. Be assured that I value no act of friendship so highly as the communicating facts to me, which I am not in the way of knowing otherwise, and could not therefore otherwise guard against. I have had too many proofs of your friendship not to be sensible of the kindness of these communications, and to receive them with peculiar obligation. The receipt of Mr. Rose's answer has furnished the

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happiest occasion for me to present to Congress a complete view of the ground on which we stand with the two principal belligerents, and, with respect to France, to lay before them, *for the public*, every communication received from that government since the last session, including those heretofore sent, in order that they also may be published, and let our constituents see whether these papers gave just ground for the falsehoods which have been so impudently advanced. We shall hope to see you to-day. Affectionate salutations.

TO DOCTOR CASPAR WISTAR.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 12th is received. Congress, I think, will rise in about three weeks,—say about the 11th of April, and I shall leave this five or six days after, on a visit of some length to Monticello. This illy accords with your journey to the westward in May; but can you not separate your excursion to this place from the western journey? Between Philadelphia and this place is but two days, and the roads are already fine. I would propose, therefore, that you should come a few days before Congress rises, so as to satisfy that article of your curiosity. The bones are spread in a large room, where you can work at your leisure, undisturbed by any mortal, from morning till night, taking your breakfast and dinner with us. It is a

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precious collection, consisting of upwards of three hundred bones, few of them of the large kinds which are already possessed. There are four pieces of the head, one very clear, and d stinctly presenting the whole face of the animal. The height of his forehead is most remarkable. In this figure, the indenture at the eye gives a prominence of six inches to the forehead. There are four jaw-bones tolerably entire, with several teeth in them, and some fragments; three tusks like elephants; one ditto totally different, the largest probably ever seen, being now from nine to ten feet long, though broken off at both ends; some ribs; an abundance of teeth studded, and also of those of the striated or ribbed kind; a fore-leg complete; and then about two hundred small bones, chiefly of the foot. This is probably the most valuable part of the collection, for General Clarke, aware that we had specimens of the larger bones, has gathered up everything of the small kind. There is one horn of a colossal animal. The bones which came do not correspond exactly with General Clarke's description; probably there were some omissions of his packers. Having sent my books to Monticello, I have nothing here to assist you but the "Encyclopédie Methodique." I hope you will make this a separate excursion; and come before Congress rises, whenever it best suits you. I salute you with friendship and respect.

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TO THE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS OF THE COUNTY OF ADAMS, PENNSYLVANIA.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1808.

I see with pleasure, fellow-citizens, in your address of February 15th, a sound recurrence to the first principles on which our government is founded; an examination by that test of the rights we possess, and the wrongs we have suffered; a just line drawn between a wholesome attention to the conduct of rulers, and a too ready censure of that conduct on every unfounded rumor; between the love of peace, and the determination to meet war, when its evils shall be less intolerable than the wrongs it is meant to correct. With so just a view of principles and circumstances, your approbation of my conduct, under the difficulties which have beset us on every side, is doubly valued by me, and offers high encouragement to a perseverance in my best endeavors for the preservation of your peace, so long as it shall be consistent with the preservation of your rights. When this ceases to be practicable, I feel entire confidence in the arduous exertions which you pledge in support of the measures which may be called for by the exigencies of the times, and in the known energies and enterprise of our countrymen in whatsoever direction they are pointed. If these energies are embodied by an union of will, and by a confidence in those who direct it, our nation, so favored in its situation, has nothing to fear from any quarter. To

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that union of effort may our citizens ever rally, minorities falling cordially, on the decision of a question, into the ranks of the majority, and bearing always in mind that a nation ceases to be republican only when the will of the majority ceases to be the law. I thank you, fellow-citizens, for the solicitude you kindly express for my future welfare. A retirement from the exercise of my present charge is equally for your good and my own happiness. Gratitude for past favors, and affectionate concern for the liberty and prosperity of my fellow-citizens, will cease but with life to animate my breast.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1808.

It is a maxim of our municipal law, and, I believe, of universal law, that he who permits the *end*, permits of course the *means*, without which the end cannot be effected. The law permitting rum, molasses, and sugar, to be imported from countries which have not packages for them, would be construed in the most rigorous courts to permit them to be carried. They would consider the restriction to ballast and provisions as a restriction to necessaries, and merely equivalent to a declaration that they shall carry out nothing for sale.

This is certainly one object of the law, and the second is to import the property; and to these objects all constructions of it should be directed. I have

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no doubt, therefore, that Messrs. Low and Wallace, and others, should be allowed to carry out the necessary and sufficient packages. But a right to take care that the law is not evaded, allows us to prescribe that kind of package which can be best guarded against fraud. Boxes ready made could not, perhaps, be so easily probed, to discover if they contained nothing for exportation. Casks filled with water can be easily sounded from the bunghole. If you think, therefore, that one kind of package is safer than another, it may be prescribed; for that nothing for sale shall be exported is as much the object of the law, as that their property shall be imported. Reasonable attention is due to each object. Affectionate salutations.

TO MONSIEUR LE VAVASSEUR.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1808.

SIR,—I am sensible of the extraordinary ingenuity and merit of the work which you offer to the acquisition of our government. It would certainly be an ornament to any country. But with such an immense extent of country before us, wanting common improvement to render it productive, the United States have not thought the moment as yet arrived when it would be wise in them to divert their funds to objects less pressing; no law has yet authorized acquisitions of this character. The idea of rendering the Greek and Latin languages living, has cer-

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tainly some captivating points. The experiment has, I believe, been tried in Europe as to the Latin language, but with what degree of success I am not precisely informed. I suppose it very possible to reform the language of the modern Greeks to the ancient standard, and that this may one day take place. But in our infant country objects more urgent force themselves on our attention, and call for the aid of all our means. These peculiarities of our situation deprive us of the advantage of availing our country of propositions which, in a more advanced stage of improvement, might be entitled to consideration.

Permit me to tender my salutations, and assurances of respect

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TO LEVI LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter on the subject of Mr. Lee came safely to hand. You know our principles render federalists in office safe, if they do not employ their influence in opposing the government, but only give their own vote according to their conscience. And this principle we act on as well with those put in office by others, as by ourselves.

We have received from your presses a very malevolent and incendiary denunciation of the administration, bottomed on absolute falsehood from beginning to end. The author would merit exemplary punishment for so flagitious a libel, were not

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the torment of his own abominable temper punishment sufficient for even as base a crime as this. The termination of Mr. Rose's mission, *re infecta*, put it in my power to communicate to Congress yesterday, everything respecting our relations with England and France, which will effectually put down Mr. Pickering, and his worthy coadjutor Mr. Quincy. Their tempers are so much alike, and really their persons, as to induce a supposition that they are related. The embargo appears to be approved, even by the federalists of every quarter except yours. The alternative was between that and war, and in fact, it is the last card we have to play, short of war. But if peace does not take place in Europe, and if France and England will not consent to withdraw the operation of their decrees and orders from us, when Congress shall meet in December, they will have to consider at what point of time the embargo, continued, becomes a greater evil than war. I am inclined to believe, we shall have this summer and autumn to prepare for the defence of our seaport towns, and hope that in that time, the works of defence will be completed which have been provided for by the Legislature. I think Congress will rise within three weeks.

I salute you with great affection and respect.

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TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, March 26, 1808.

Mr. Madison happening to call on me just now, I consulted him on the subject of Hoffman's letter. We both think that it would be neither just nor expedient that the supplies necessary to the existence of the Indians should be cut off from them; and that if no construction of the embargo law will permit the passage of their commerce, and if that law could, and did intend to control the treaty, (the last of which is hardly to be believed,) then an amendment should be asked of Congress. I have no copy of the law by me, and indeed am too unwell for very close exercise of the mind. Affectionate salutations.

TO CHARLES PINCKNEY.

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 8th was received on the 25th, and I proceed to state to you my views of the present state and prospect of foreign affairs, under the confidence that you will use them for your own government and opinions only, and by no means let them get out as from me. With France we are in no *immediate* danger of war. Her future views it is impossible to estimate. The immediate danger we are in of a rupture with England, is postponed for this year. This is effected by the embargo, as

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the question was simply between that and war. That may go on a certain time, perhaps through the year, without the loss of their property to our citizens, but only its remaining unemployed on their hands. A time would come, however, when war would be preferable to a continuance of the embargo. Of this Congress may have to decide at their next meeting. In the meantime, we have good information, that a negotiation for peace between France and England is commencing through the medium of Austria. The way for it has been smoothed by a determination expressed by France (through the Moniteur, which is their government paper) that herself and her allies will demand from Great Britain no renunciation of her maritime principles; nor will they renounce theirs. Nothing shall be said about them in the treaty, and both sides will be left in the next war to act on their own. No doubt the meaning of this is, that all the *Continental* powers of Europe will form themselves into an armed neutrality, to enforce their own principles. Should peace be made, we shall have safely rode out the storm in peace and prosperity. If we have anything to fear, it will be after that. Nothing should be spared from this moment in putting our militia in the best condition possible, and procuring arms. I hope, that this summer, we shall get our whole seaports put into that state of defence, which Congress has thought proportioned to our circumstances and situation; that is to say, put *hors d'insulte* from a mari-

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time attack, by a moderate squadron. If armies are combined with their fleets, then no resource can be provided, but to meet them in the field. We propose to raise seven regiments only for the present year, depending always on our militia for the operations of the first year of war. On any other plan, we should be obliged always to keep a large standing army. Congress will adjourn in about three weeks. I hope Captain McComb is getting on well with your defensive works. We shall be able by mid-summer, to give you a sufficient number of gunboats to protect Charleston from any vessel which can cross the bar; but the militia of the place must be depended on to fill up the complement of men necessary for action in the moment of an attack, as we shall man them, in ordinary, but with their navigating crew of eight or ten good seamen.

I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1808.

If, on considering the doubts I shall suggest, you shall still think your draught of a supplementary embargo law sufficient, in its present form, I shall be satisfied it is so, for I have but one hour in the morning in which I am capable of thinking, and that is too much crowded with business to give me time to think.

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1. Is not the first paragraph against the Constitution, which says no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another? You might put down those parts as ports of entry, if that could be made to do.

2. Could not your second paragraph be made to answer by making it say that no clearance shall be furnished to any vessel laden with *provisions* or *lumber*, to go from one port to another of the United States, without special permission, etc.? In that case we might lay down rules for the necessary removal of provisions and lumber, inland, which should give no trouble to the citizens, but refuse licenses for all coasting transportation of those articles but on such applications from a Governor as may ensure us against any exportation but for the consumption of his State. Portsmouth, Boston, Charleston, and Savannah, are the only ports which cannot be supplied inland. I should like to prohibit *collections*, also, made evidently for clandestine importation.

3. I would rather strike out the words "in conformity with treaty" in order to avoid any express recognition at this day of that article of the British treaty. It has been so flagrantly abused as to excite the Indians to war against us, that I should have no hesitation in declaring it null, as soon as we see means of supplying the Indians ourselves.

I should have no objections to extend the exception to the Indian furs purchased by our traders and sent into Canada. Affectionate salutes.

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TO ROBERT SMITH.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1808.

I approve of your letter to Commodore Murray entirely, and in order to settle what shall be our course for the summer (now that we are tolerably clear, that no rupture with England is likely to take place during the summer), I propose, the first day that I can be well enough, for a couple of hours to ask a meeting of our colleagues to determine these questions:

Shall the proclamation be renewed or suffered to expire?

Shall the harbors of ordinary British resort (say New York, Lynhaven, and Charleston) be furnished with their full quota of gunboats, with their *navigating* crews?

Shall the residue of the 170 gunboats be distributed among the other ports, with their navigating crews, or be laid up or left on their stocks?

Shall the frigates and Wasp be unmanned?

Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1808.

SIR,—On the amendments to the embargo law, I am perfectly satisfied with whatever you have concluded on after consideration of the subject. My view was only to suggest for your consideration

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not having at all made myself acquainted with the details of that law. I therefore return you your bill, and wish it to be proposed. I will this day nominate Elmer. The delegates of North Carolina expect daily to receive information on the subject of a Marshal. Is the Register's office at New Orleans vacant? Claiborne says it is, and strongly recommends Robertson the Secretary. He will be found one of the most valuable men we have brought into the public service for integrity, talents and amiability. Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1808.

I suppose that Favre can carry his necessary provisions from New Orleans across the lake in a periagua or some other vessel, which may come under the exception of vessels under the immediate direction of the President, and that being an agent of the United States for the transmission of public intelligence, such a license is perfectly legitimate. If this were a matter of doubt, its solution would be to be sought in the intention of the Legislature, which was to keep our seamen and property from capture, and to starve the offending nations. But Favre is our own agent, and we may as well remit provisions to him as money to our other foreign agents. It appears to me to be so clearly out of the scope of the prohibitions of the embargo law, and

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within its exceptions, that I should be for allowing him to take out his provisions for his family, under the superintendence of the Collector. Affectionate salutations.

TO JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1808.

SIR,—I have regretted the delay of this answer to your letter of February 27th, but it has proceeded from circumstances which did not depend on me. I learn with great satisfaction the disposition of our merchants to form into companies for undertaking the Indian trade within our own territories. I have been taught to believe it an advantageous one for the individual adventurers, and I consider it as highly desirable to have that trade centered in the hands of our own citizens. The field is immense, and would occupy a vast extent of capital by different companies engaging in different districts. All beyond the Mississippi is ours exclusively, and it will be in our power to give our own traders great advantages over their foreign competitors on this side the Mississippi. You may be assured that in order to get the whole of this business passed into the hands of our own citizens, and to oust foreign traders, who so much abuse their privilege by endeavoring to excite the Indians to war on us, every reasonable patronage and facility in the power of the Executive will be afforded. I salute you with respect.

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TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1808.

I should think Mr. Woodside's application to send provisions for the family of our consul at Madeira, admissible on the same ground as that lately to Favre, were the necessity as evident, but I suppose it can hardly be doubted that England will procure provisions for that island, and there is danger of one precedent in our relaxations begetting another till we may get out of the limits of the law and its object.

The application for the establishment of a packet on Lake Champlain cannot be admitted. Such an establishment is by no means within the description of those which we have proposed to license; it would give too great a facility to evade the law, and the builder is in no worse situation than the many others who began their vessels before the embargo law, and who will not be permitted to use them till that is repealed. Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Sincerely sympathizing in your distress, which much experience in the same school has taught me to estimate, I could not have been induced to intrude on it by anything short of the urgency of the case stated by Penniman on Lake Champlain. Messrs. Robinson and Witherall tell me the whole of

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the business will be over early in May, when the fall of the water renders the rapids impassable for rafts. They think vessels of any kind desired, can be had on the Lake at a moment's warning, and guns of 6 lbs. ball, there also, mounted on them by procurement of the collector, and that the governor would order any assistance of militia on being written to. Believing it important to crush every example of forcible opposition to the law, I propose to ask the other gentlemen to a consultation immediately, and for their and my guide have to request any ideas on the subject which you can hastily give me on paper, for which I would not have troubled you, but from a confidence that your knowledge of the character and means possessed by the collector there, and of the local circumstances to be attended to, may enable us to decide on what will be most proper and effectual. I salute you with affection.

P. S. Return me Penniman's letter if you please, to lay before the gentlemen.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1808.

We have concluded as follows:

1st. That a letter from your department to the collector on Lake Champlain, shall instruct him to equip and arm what vessels he can and may think necessary, and luggage as many persons on board

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them as may be necessary, and can be engaged *voluntarily* by force of arms, or otherwise, to enforce the law.

2d. The Secretary of State writes to the Marshal, if the opposition to the law is too powerful for the collector, to raise his posse, (which, as a peace officer, he is fully authorized to do on any forcible breach of the peace,) and to aid in suppressing the insurrection or combination.

3d. The Secretary at War desires the Governor, if the posse is inadequate, to publish a proclamation with which he is furnished, and to call on the militia. He is further, by a private letter, requested to repair to the place, and lend the aid of his counsel and authority according to exigencies.

We have further determined to build two gunboats at Skanesborough. Affectionate salutations.

P. S. General Dearborn has Penniman's letter to copy for the Governor.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1808.

Did I lend you the Pennsylvania act permitting our Western road to pass through that State? If I did, or if you have a copy of it, I shall be very glad to see it. Mr. Hodge gave me notice yesterday that there would be legal opposition to that road's passing in any other direction than through Washing-

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ton, their construction being, that if in fact a *good* road can be got by Washington, the law obliges me to direct it through that; and they have got a survey made on which they affirm the fact to be that a *good* road may be had. I know my determination was not to yield to the example of a State's prescribing the direction of the road; and I understood the law as leaving the route ultimately to me. If I have misconstrued the law, I shall be sorry for the money spent on a misconstruction, but that loss will be a lesser evil to the United States than a single example of yielding to a State the direction of a road made at the national expense and for national purposes. If you have not the law, I must write by this day's post to Mr. Moore, to suspend all further proceedings till we can see whether we are really at liberty to pursue the route we have proposed, or must adopt another which shall not enter the State of Pennsylvania.

Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1808.

My ideas on the questions relative to the active letter of Marque stated in your letter of yesterday, are as follows:

1st. Letters of Marque have been considered, ever since the decisions of 1703, to be of a mixed character, but that the commercial character predominates; and as a commercial vessel of private property we

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have in some cases since the proclamation of July, considered them as not included in its restrictions.

2d. The law of 1794, June 5th, certainly exempts the enlistment of foreigners in this country on board the vessels of their sovereign, from the penalties of that law, and leaves the subject merely under the law of nations. By that law the right of enlistment in a neutral country, given to both belligerents if they can devise equal advantage from it, is no breach of neutrality, but otherwise becomes questionable. We may, justly, I think, permit a vessel of either nation to supply its desertions by new engagements; but we should be cautious as to permitting them to increase their number, to carry away more than they brought in.

3d. It is difficult to draw a line between the two cases where the collector should consult the government, and where the district attorney. Where a case is political, rather than legal, or where it arises even on a *law* whose object is rather political than municipal, the government should be consulted; and where the district attorney is the proper resort, still it should be on consultation by the collector, and not by the party interested. Affectionate salutations.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(JAMES MADISON).

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1808.

Notes on the British claims in the Mississippi territory.

1803, March 3d, act of Congress gave to March 31, 1804, to exhibit their claims on grants.

1804, March 27, act of Congress gave to November 30, 1804, and allowed transcripts instead of originals, etc.

1805, March 2d, act of Congress gave to December 1, 1805, to file their grants. And in fact to Jan. 1, 1807, time when the sale might begin.

1807, December 15, the British claimants memorialize again.

On no one of the acts did the British claimant take any step towards specifying his claim or its location, but remained inactive till the time was expired, and then remonstrated to his government that we had not given them time sufficient. And on the last of 1805, instead of having come forward with his claims, ready to avail himself of the third term which was then to be asked, and which was granted nominally to December 1, 1805, but in effect to January 1, 1807, he stays at home inactive, and on the 15th of December, 1807, again gives in a memorial that we have not given time enough, but still takes no step to inform us what and where his claim is.

Although these titles may have been confirmed by

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treaty, yet they could not thereby be intended to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction or conditions on which lands are held even by citizens. It is evident that these claimants are speculators, whose object is to make what profit they can out of the patronage of the government, but to make no sacrifice of themselves either of money or trouble. They are entitled, therefore, to no further notice from either government. However, Mr. Erskine may be informed *verbally*, that as the day of commencing sales of lands there is now put off to January 1, 1809, if any of these claimants will, before that day, file their claim, with its *precise location*, the executive is authorized to suspend the sale of any particular parcels, and will as to that, till the proper authority can decide on the title, but that the settlement of that country in general, is too pressing to be delayed one day by claims under the circumstances of these.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1808.

The leading object of the enclosed application from the owners of the Topaz, is to send witnesses and documents to save the property of the ship and cargo seized. But as the Topaz would be insufficient to bring home the whole property if cleared, the permission of sending a vessel may be on the ordinary ground of bringing home the property. But do the restrictions of the embargo laws (for I

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have them not) inhibit the passing from port to port as proposed in the enclosed? And do they admit, (in case the Topaz and her cargo are condemned,) that the vessel sent out should bring home other property to cover the expenses of the ineffectual voyage? On these questions I must ask your opinion, as General Smith will call on me to-morrow. The questions had been brought to me originally by Mr. Taylor, because he happened to come at a moment when you were confined. Affectionate salutes.

TO CAESAR A. RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1808.

Thomas Jefferson returns the enclosed to Mr. Rodney, with thanks for the communication. It is very evident that our embargo, added to the exclusions from the Continent, will be most heavily felt in England and Ireland. Liverpool is remonstrating, and endeavoring to get the other posts into motion. Yet the bill confirming the orders of council is ordered to a third reading, which shows it will pass. Congress has just passed an additional embargo law, on which if we act as boldly as I am disposed to do, we can make it effectual. I think the material parts of the enclosed should be published. It will show our people that while the embargo gives us double rations, it is starving our enemies. This six months' session has worn me down to a state of almost total

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incapacity for business. Congress will certainly rise to-morrow night, and I shall leave this for Monticello on the 5th of May, to be here again on the 8th of June. I salute you with constant affection and respect.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM A. WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—So uncertain has been the situation of our affairs with England, and yet so much bearing would they have on those with the Indians, that I have delayed answering your favor of October 5th until I could see a little way before me. At present I think a continuance of our peace till the next meeting of Congress (November) probable. I have now addressed a message to the Indians in the northwest, in which I inform them of our differences with England, and of the uncertainty how they will issue. Assure them of the continuance of our friendship, and advise them in any event to remain quiet at home, taking no part in our quarrel, and declaring unequivocally that if any nation takes up the hatchet against us, we will drive them from the land of their fathers, and never more permit their return. With respect to the prophet, I really believe the opinion you formed of his views is correct. But we have heard so many different stories since, that we are awaiting some information which we expect to receive before we make up a definitive opinion. This much, how-

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ever, we determine; and he might know that if we become dissatisfied that his views are friendly, we shall extend to him all the patronage and good offices in our power, and shall establish a store in his new settlement; and particularly if we find him endeavoring to reform the morality of the Indians, and encourage them in industry and peace, we shall do what we can to render his influence as extensive as possible. I had been in hopes that a change in the British ministry would have produced a revocation of the orders of council, which called for our embargo, and an European peace, so as to have removed all danger of our being dragged into the war. But our advices to the 14th of March show they still retained a good majority in Parliament. Should they continue in office, our peace will continue uncertain. Accept my salutations, and assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

WASHINGTON, April 30, 1808.

Case of the Fleusburg.

Our laws permit a foreigner to hold any property in our country, except lands. A foreigner may contract for a ship to be built for him, so that she will be his from the time of laying the keel; or he may contract so as that she shall be his only when launched,

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or when rigged, etc. The act of delivery to him or his agents fixes, in that case, the moment when she becomes his property. If the Fleusburg was delivered to the agent of the Danish merchant, by such an act of delivery as by our laws will transfer personal property, before the 22d of December, she was then Danish property. The statement says that a bill o building and sale, dated December 10th, proved her to be then Danish property. If the collector shall find that she was actually Danish property before December 22d, I should think her entitled as a foreign vessel. I suppose she did not take out an American register. This would be corroborative proof that, though built in America, she was not meant to be, nor ever became, an American bottom; for I presume the register is what completes the American bottom. The matter of fact should be proved to the collector.

Rhode Island Packets.

The pretension that the navigation from Newport to New York is entirely a navigation of rivers, bays, and sounds, would take from language all kind of certainty. There is not one point of the coast of Rhode Island, from which a perpendicular line does not lead into the main ocean. A very small proportion of these would lead across Block Island. But to say that Block Island covers the whole coast from Martha's Vineyard to Long Island, so as to make it a Sound, is too gross for any one who casts

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his eyes on the maps. The difference of regulation, too, between bay-craft and coasting vessels, since the act of April 25th, is very inconsiderable.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1808.

Thomas Jefferson will thank General Dearborn to consider the enclosed. The writer appears to have that sincere enthusiasm for his undertaking which will ensure success. The education of the common people around Detroit is a most desirable object, and the proposition of extending their views to the teaching the Indian boys and girls to read and write, agriculture and mechanic trades to the former, spinning and weaving to the latter, may perhaps be acceded to by us advantageously for the Indians, and the bounties paid for them be an aid to the other objects of the institution. Affectionate salutations.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

WASHINGTON, April 30, 1808.

Notes on such parts of Fronda's letter of April 26th, 1808, as are worth answering:—

I. I know of no recent orders to Governor Claiborne as to the navigation of the Mississippi, Uberville, and Pontchartrain; he should specify them, but he may be told that no order has ever been given

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contrary to the rights of Spain. These rights are, 1st, a treaty right that "the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or her colonies, loaded only *with the produce* or manufactures of Spain or her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the ports of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States, etc." 2d. A right of innocent passage from the mouth of the Mississippi to 31° of latitude, exactly commensurate with our right of innocent passage up the rivers of Florida to 31° of latitude.

II. In answer to his question whether we consider Mobile among the ports of the United States, he may be told that so long as we consider the question whether the Perdido is not the eastern boundary of Louisiana, as continuing in a train of amicable proceedings for adjustment, so long that part only of the river Mobile, which is above 31° of latitude, will be considered among the ports of the United States, withholding the exercise of jurisdiction on our part within the disputed territory, on the general principle of letting things remain *in statu quo pendente lite.*

There is nothing else in this letter worth answering.

TO WILLIAM LYMAN, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, April 30, 1808.

SIR,—Your favor of the 11th of July came to hand a little before the meeting of Congress, and soon

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after I received the apparatus for stylographic writing, which you were so kind as to send me, for which I pray you to receive my particular thanks.

The invention is certainly very ingenious, and while it compares advantageously with all others in other circumstances, it has an unrivalled preference as being so much more profitable. I had never heard of the invention till your letter announced it, for these novelties reach us very late, which renders your attentions on the occasion more acceptable, and more entitled to the acknowledgments which I now tender. The decrees and orders of the belligerent nations having amounted nearly to declarations that they would take our vessels wherever found, Congress thought it best in the first instance to break off all intercourse with them. They adjourned on Monday last, having passed an act authorizing me to suspend the embargo whenever the belligerents should revoke their decrees or orders as to us. The embargo must continue, therefore, till they meet again in November, unless the measures of the belligerents should change. When they meet again, if these decrees and orders still continue, the question which they will have to decide will be, whether a continuance of the embargo or war will be preferable. In the meantime great advances are making in the establishment of manufactures. Those of cotton will, I think, be so far proceeded on, that we shall never again have to recur to the importation of cotton goods for our own use. I tender

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you my salutations, and the assurances of my great respect.

TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

WASHINGTON, May 2, 1808.

DEAR GENERAL,—A safe conveyance offering by a special messenger to Paris, I avail myself of it to bring up my arrears to my foreign correspondents. I give them the protection of your cover, but to save the trouble of your attention to their distribution, I give them an inner cover to Mr. Harden, whose attentions heretofore have encouraged me to ask this favor of him. But should he not be with you, I must pray you to open my packages to him, and have them distributed, as it is of importance that some of them should be delivered without delay. I shall say nothing to you on the subject of our foreign relations, because you will get what is official on that subject from Mr. Madison.

During the present paroxysm of the insanity of Europe, we have thought it wisest to break off all intercourse with her. We shall, in the course of this year, have all our seaports, of any note, put into a state of defence against naval attacks. Against great land armies we cannot attempt it but by equal armies. For these we must depend on a classified militia, which will give us the service of the class from twenty to twenty-six, in the nature of conscripts, composing a body of about 250,000, to be

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specially trained. This measure, attempted at a former session, was passed at the last, and might, I think, have been carried by a small majority. But considering that great innovations should not be forced on a slender majority, and seeing that the general opinion is sensibly rallying to it, it was thought better to let it lie over to the next session, when, I trust, it will be passed. Another measure has now twice failed, which I have warmly urged, the immediate settlement by donation of lands, of such a body of militia in the territories of Orleans and Mississippi, as will be adequate to the defence of New Orleans. We are raising some regulars in addition to our present force, for garrisoning our seaports, and forming a nucleus for the militia to gather to. There will be no question who is to be my successor. Of this be assured, whatever may be said by newspapers and private correspondences. Local considerations have been silenced by those dictated by the continued difficulties of the times. One word of friendly request: be more frequent and full in your communications with us. I salute you with great friendship and respect.

TO GENERAL THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

WASHINGTON, May 2, 1808.

MY VERY DEAR GENERAL,—A safe conveyance offering by a special messenger to Paris, Mr. Barnes has requested me to avail you of it, by sending a

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remittance of a thousand dollars, for which a draught is under cover. I shall not write to you on the subject of our foreign relations, because of the dangers by sea and the dangers by land. During the present paroxysm of the insanity of Europe, we have thought it wisest to break off all intercourse with her. We shall, in the course of this year, have all our seaports of any note put into a state of defence against naval attacks. Against great land armies we cannot attempt it but by equal armies. For these we must depend on a classified militia, which will give us the service of the class from twenty to twenty-six, in the nature of conscripts, composing a body of about 250,000, to be specially trained. This measure, attempted at a former session, was passed at the last, and might, I think, have been carried by a small majority; but considering that great innovations should not be forced on slender majorities, and seeing that the public opinion is sensibly rallying to it, it was thought better to let it lie over to the next session, when I trust it will be passed. Another measure has now twice failed, which I have warmly urged, the immediate settlement by donation of lands of such a body of militia in the territories of Orleans and Mississippi, as will be adequate to the defence of New Orleans. We are raising some regulars in addition to our present force, for garrisoning our seaports, and forming a nucleus for the militia to gather to. There will be no question who is to be my successor. Of this be assured, whatever may be said by newspapers

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and private correspondences; local considerations have been silenced by those dictated by the continued difficulties of the times. I salute you with sincere and constant friendship and great respect.

TO ROBERT SMITH.

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1808.

I enclose you a petition from a woman (Mary Barnett) who complains that her son of thirteen years of age, is detained against her will in the naval military service. Having never before received an application of the kind in that department, I know not what are the rules there. But in the land service we have had many cases of enlistments of infants, and there the law is considered to be, and our practice in conformity, as follows: An infant is considered as incapable of binding himself by enlistment, and may at any time be reclaimed by a parent, guardian, next friend, or may quit of his own accord, on complaint from a parent, etc. We direct the officer to inquire into the fact of infancy, and if he believes him under age he discharges him. If he believes him of full age, we advise the parent, etc., that he may take out a Habeas Corpus, and have the fact tried before an impartial judge: if enlisted with the consent of the parent, etc., it must be by indentures as prescribed by law for an apprentice or servant, this being the only mode of obligation in which the law will compel *specific* execution. In case of a ver-

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bal or a common written subscription of engagement, even with consent of the parent, *damages* only can be recovered for withdrawing from it. I presume the rules in the Navy Department must be the same, as we must conform ourselves to the law in all departments. I directed the woman to call on me again to-morrow. Will you be so good as to enable me to give her an answer? Affectionate salutations.

TO GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

WASHINGTON, May 4, 1808.

SIR,—I duly received your favor of April 18th, covering an act of the legislature of New York, appropriating $100,000 to aid and expedite the defence of the city and port of New York, and $20,000 to aid in, and contribute to, the defence of the northern and western frontiers, and expressing a desire to receive an opinion on the application of those sums.

In carrying into execution the provisions of Congress, at their last session, for fortifying our ports and harbors, we shall distribute the means put into our hands on a just view of the relative importance of the places, combined with their degree of exposure, and capability of defence, and in such way as to require a moderate permanent force of regulars, relying much, in case of sudden attack, on the aid of the militia. Among the objects of our care, New York stands foremost in the points of importance and exposure; and, if permitted, we shall provide

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such defences for it as, in our opinion, will render it secure against attacks by sea. The particulars of what is proposed to be done can be made known to you by Colonel Williams; as it is probable these may not comprehend everything which the anxieties of the citizens might think of service in their defence, I suggest for your consideration, the idea of applying the fund appropriated to this object, by your legislature, to such supplementary provisions as in your judgment might be necessary to render ours adequate to fulfil the views and confidence of your citizens. Of this however, you are the best judge. But I cannot omit to urge that no time should be lost in deciding on so much of the plan proposed by the Secretary of War, as depends on a cession from the State authorities.

It appears to me that it would be well to have a post on the Saint Lawrence, as near our line as a commanding position could be found, that it might afford some cover for our most advanced inhabitants. But if a rupture takes place now, such a post would too soon lose all its value, to be worth building at this time. It is only in the event of a solid accommodation with Great Britain,and their retaining their present possessions, that it might become worthy of attention. I do not know that the $20,000 appropriated by the State of New York, "to aid in, and contribute to, the defence of the northern and western frontiers," could be better applied than as supplementary to our provisions in this quarter also.

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We cannot, for instance, deliver out our arms to the militia, until called into the field. Yet it would be a great security had every militia man on these frontiers a good musket in his hands. However, here again your Excellency is the best judge, and I have hazarded these ideas as to the application of the appropriations, only on the wish you expressed that I would do it, and on my own desire to interchange ideas with frankness, and without reserve with those charged, in common with myself, with the public interests. I beg leave to tender you the assurances of my high esteem and respect.

TO THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1808.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,—Having learnt the safe arrival of your Royal Highness at the city of Rio Janeiro, I perform with pleasure the duty of offering you my sincere congratulations by Mr. Hill, a respected citizen of the United States, who is specially charged with the delivery of this letter.

I trust that this event will be as propitious to the prosperity of your faithful subjects as to the happiness of your Royal Highness, in which the United States of America have ever taken a lively interest. Inhabitants now of the same land, of that great continent which the genius of Columbus has given to the world, the United States feel sensibly that they stand in new and closer relations with your Royal

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Highness, and that the motives which heretofore nourished the friendly relations which have so happily prevailed, have acquired increased strength on the transfer of your residence to their own shores. They see in prospect, a system of intercourse between the different regions of this hemisphere of which the peace and happiness of mankind may be the essential principle. To this principle your long-tried adherence, for the benefit of those you governed, in the midst of warring powers, is a pledge to the new world that its peace, its free and friendly intercourse, will be your chief concern. On the part of the United States I assure you, that these which have hitherto been their ruling objects, will be most particularly cultivated with your Royal Highness and your subjects at Brazil, and they hope that that country so favored by the gifts of nature, now advanced to a station under your immediate auspices, will find, in the interchange of mutual wants and supplies, the true aliment of an unchanging friendship with the United States of America.

I pray to God, great and good friend, that in your new abode you may enjoy health, happiness, and the affections of your people, and that He will always have you in His safe and holy keeping.

Done at Washington, etc.

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TO THE GOVERNORS OF NEW ORLEANS, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WASHINGTON, May 6, 1808.

SIR,—The evasions of the preceding embargo laws went so far towards defeating their objects, and chiefly by vessels clearing out coast-wise, that Congress, by their act of April 25th, authorized the absolute detention of all vessels bound coast-wise with cargoes exciting suspicions of an intention to evade those laws. There being few towns on our seacoast which cannot be supplied with flour from their interior country, shipments of flour become generally suspicious and proper subjects of detention. Charleston is one of the few places on our seaboard which need supplies of flour by sea for its own consumption. That it may not suffer by the cautions we are obliged to use, I request of your Excellency, whenever you deem it necessary that your present or any future stock should be enlarged, to take the trouble of giving your certificate in favor of any merchant in whom you have confidence, directed to the collector of any port, usually exporting flour, from which he may choose to bring it, for any quantity which you may deem necessary for consumption beyond your interior supplies, enclosing to the Secretary of the Treasury at the same time a duplicate of the certificate as a check on the falsification of your signature. In this way we may secure a

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supply of the real wants of our citizens, and at the same time prevent those wants from being made a cover for the crimes against their country which unprincipled adventurers are in the habit of committing. I trust, too, that your Excellency will find an apology for the trouble I propose to give you, in that desire which you must feel in common with all our worthy citizens, that inconveniences encountered cheerfully by them for the interests of their country, shall not be turned merely to the unlawful profits of the most worthless part of society. I salute your Excellency with assurances of my high respect and consideration.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, May 6, 1808.

In the outset of the business of detentions, I think it impossible to form precise rules. After a number of cases shall have arisen they may probably be thrown into groups and subjected to rules. The great leading object of the Legislature was, and ours in execution of it ought to be, to give complete effect to the embargo laws. They have bidden agriculture, commerce, navigation, to bow before that object, to be nothing when in competition with that. Finding all their endeavors at general rules to be evaded, they finally gave us the power of detention as the panacea, and I am clear we ought to use it freely that we may, by a fair experiment, know the power

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of this great weapon, the embargo. Therefore, to propositions to carry flour into the Chesapeake, the Delaware, the Hudson, and other *exporting* places, we should say boldly it is not wanted there for consumption, and the carrying it there is too suspicious to be permitted. In consequence of the letters to the Governors of the flour-importing States, we may also say boldly that there being no application from the Governor is a proof it is not wanting in those States, and therefore must not be carried. As to shuffling of cotton, tobacco, flax seed, etc., from one port to another, it may be some trifling advantage to individuals to change their property out of one form into another, but it is not of a farthing's benefit to the nation at large, and risks their great object in the embargo. The want of these at a particular place should be very notorious to the collector and others, to take off suspicion of illicit intentions. Dry goods of Europe, coal, bricks, etc., are articles entirely without suspicion. I hazard these things for your consideration, and I send you a copy of the letter to the Governors, which may be communicated in form to the collectors to strengthen the ground of suspicion. You will be so good as to decide these cases yourself, without forwarding them to me. Whenever you are clear either way, so decide; where you are doubtful, consider me as voting for detention, being satisfied that individuals ought to yield their private interests to this great public object.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, May 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—My journey and two days' detention on the road by high waters, gave me time to reflect on our canal at New Orleans, on which I will therefore hazard some thoughts.

I think it has been said that the Mississippi, at low water, is many feet lower opposite New Orleans than Lake Pontchartrain. But the fact is impossible, being in contradiction to the laws of nature; two beds of dead water connected with the same ocean, in vicinity to one another, must each be in the level of that ocean, and consequently of one another. Although Pontchartrain receives the Amite and some other small streams, they probably do little more than supply its evaporation. No doubt, however, that the lake must receive the small ebb and flow of the sea. The Mississippi, on the contrary, even at its lowest tide, always flows downwards to and beyond its mouth; it must, then, at New Orleans, be one, two, or three feet higher than the sea, and consequently than Pontchartrain.

If a simple canal were cut from that of Carondelet to the Mississippi without lock or gate, there would be two risks. 1. That in high water of the Mississippi the current would be too strong for a gunboat to ascend or descend. This might perhaps be remedied by the draught of horses. 2. The force of

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such a current, (unless the whole canal were lined with brick or masonry,) might convert the canal into a bay, one of an unknown size, and involve New Orleans in it.

On the whole, I suspect our plan is pretty obvious: suppose we want six feet water; make a canal of that depth below the lowest ebb of Pontchartrain from the lake to where the lock is to be placed,— then bring a canal from the river to the lock, the depth of which shall be six feet below the lowest water of the Mississippi ever known; at the back there will be a descent, suppose of one, two or three feet, or any other number. The lock remedies that. If the lock were near the lake it would lessen the work by giving nearly the whole length to the shallowest canal, and it would probably be in a more tranquil and safe situation. But it might be inconvenient, perhaps unsafe, to the sides of the Mississippi canal, to permit such a depth of water as would be in it, through its whole length, at the time of the high water of that river. Of the best position, therefore, of the lock, the superintendent must judge on the spot, as he must indeed of the correctness of all the preceding conjectures, formed without a knowledge of the localities. They are hazarded merely to give us some fixed notions of the nature of the enterprise, and are submitted to your consideration. I salute you with affectionate respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, May 15, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday the enclosed letter from a Mr. Wood, of New York. I should suppose the fruits of Europe stood nearly on the ground of the dry goods of Europe, not tempting evasion by exorbitant prices, nor defeating the object of the embargo in any important degree, even if a deviation should take place. I send it to yourself for decision and answer, in order that there may be an uniformity in the decisions. I am really glad to find the collector so cautious, and hope others will be equally so, and I place immense value in the experiment being fully made, how far an embargo may be an effectual weapon in future as well as on this occasion. I salute you with affection and respect.

P. S. Will you send me sixteen copies of my letters to the Governors of Orleans, Georgia, etc., which I think you proposed to have printed? I will enclose it to the other governors with explanations.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, May 17, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 16th came to hand last night. As the lead mines do not press in point of

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time, I would rather they should be the subject of a conversation on my return. It is not merely a question about the terms we have to consider, but the expediency of working them. As to the Savannah revenue cutter, I approve of the proposition in your letter, or whatever else you may think proper to be done. The regular traders to New Orleans may be admitted to go as usual, the characters of the owners being known to be safe, and provisions and lumber being excepted. Cotton, perhaps, may be permitted to be brought back on the consideration that its price in Europe is not likely to be such as that the adventurers may afford to pay all the forfeitures. I presume Mr. Price's application, which I enclose you, will fall under this general permission. Will you be so good as to have the proper answer given him? If we change our rule of tonnage for Mr. Murray's purpose, the next application will be for such a rate of tonnage as will allow them to bring back their property in the form of hay. General Dearborn has occasion to send a vessel to Passamaquoddy with cannon for the batteries, and perhaps provision for the troops, and has asked me to send him a blank license. But as these licenses are not signed by me, I refer him to you for the necessary arrangements.

I shall sincerely lament Cuba's falling into any hands but those of its present owners. Spanish America is at present in the best hands for us, and "*Chi sta bene, non si muove*" should be our motto. I salute you with affection.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, May 19, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I now return you the papers reserved from the last post. Our regular answer to Mr. Livingston may well be, that the Attorney General having given an official opinion that the right to the batture is in the United States, and the matter being now referred to Congress, it is our duty to keep the grounds clear of any adversary possession, until the Legislature shall decide on it. I have carefully read Mr. Livingston's printed memoir. He has shaken my opinion as to the line within the road having been intended as a line of *boundary* instead of its being a line of *admeasurement* only. But he establishes another fact by the testimony of Fendeau, very fatal to his claim; to wit, that the high-water mark, "*batture, ou viennent battre les eaux lorsqu elles sont dans leurs plus grandes croissances,*" is the universal boundary of private grants on the river.

Your observations on his allegations that Gravier's grant must be under the Spanish law, because after the cession of the province by France to Spain, though before delivery of possession, are conclusive. To which may be added, that Louis XIV. having established the Constumes deParis as the law of Louisiana, this was not changed by the mere act of transfer; on the contrary, the laws of France continued and

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continues to be the law of the land, except where specially altered by some subsequent edict of Spain or act of Congress. He has not in the least shaken the doctrine that the bed of the river, and all the atterrissements or banks which arise on it by the depositions of the river, are the property of the King by a peculiarity in the law of France; so that nothing quoted from those of Spain or the Roman law is of authority on that point. Affectionate salutations.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, May 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I return you the papers of Fanning, Lesdernier, and Sacket. With respect to Fanning's case, the true key for the construction of everything doubtful in a law, is the intention of the law-makers. This is most safely gathered from the words, but may be sought also in extraneous circumstances, provided they do not contradict the express words of the law. We certainly know that the Legislature meant that vessels might go out to bring home property, but not to commence a new career of commerce. The bringing home the property being the main object, if it be in an impracticable form, it expects the intention of the law to let it be commuted into a practicable form; and so from an inconvenient to a convenient form. To prevent any abuse of this accommodation, by entering into a new operation

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of commerce with it, the discretionary permission is left to the President. I think the conversion of the sandal wood into a more portable form in this case, is fulfilling the object of the law, and that it is immaterial whether that be done in the Friendly Islands, where the wood now is, or wherever by the way it can be better done. Consequently, that permission may be granted. I hope you will spare no pains or expense to bring the rascals of Passamaquoddy to justice, and if more force be necessary, agree on the subject with General Dearborn or Mr. Smith, as to any aid they can spare, and let it go without waiting to consult me. Let the successor to Sacket also be commissioned without waiting for my opinion, which will be yours. Should a pardon be granted to Russell, I generally but not invariably require a recommendation from the judges. I shall be ready to consider any propositions you may make for mitigating the embargo law of April 25th, but so only as not to defeat the object of the law. I shall be ready to make a distinction between provisions, timber, naval stores, and such things, as by the exaggerated prices they have got to in foreign markets, would enable infactors to pay all forfeitures and still make great profit, and cotton and such other articles as have not got to such prices. I am for going substantially to the object of the law, and no further; perhaps a little more earnestly because it is the first expedient, and it is of great importance to know its full effect.

I salute you with constant affection and respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, May 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 14th came to hand yesterday. I do not see that we can avoid agreeing to estimates made by worthy men of our own choice for the sites of fortifications, or that we could leave an important place undefended because too much is asked for the site. And therefore we must pay what the sites at Boston have been valued at. At the same time I do not know on what principles of reasoning it is that good men think the public ought to pay more for a thing than they would themselves if they wanted it. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO GENERAL BENJAMIN SMITH.

MONTICELLO, May 20, 1808.

SIR,—I return you my thanks for the communication by your letter of April 19th, of the resolutions of the Grand Jury of Brunswick, approving of the embargo. Could the alternative of war or the embargo have been presented to the whole nation, as it occurred to their representatives, there could have been but the one opinion that it was better to take the chance of one year by the embargo, within which the orders and decrees producing it may be repealed, or peace take place in Europe, which may

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secure peace to us. How long the continuance of the embargo may be preferable to war, is a question we shall have to meet, if the decrees and orders and war continue. I am sorry that in some places, chiefly on our northern frontier, a disposition even to oppose the law by force has been manifested. In no country on earth is this so impracticable as in one where every man feels a vital interest in maintaining the authority of the laws, and instantly engages in it as in his own personal cause. Accordingly, we have experienced this spontaneous aid of our good citizens in the neighborhoods where there has been occasion, as I am persuaded we ever shall on such occasions. Through the body of our country generally our citizens appear heartily to approve and support the embargo. I am also to thank you for the communication of the Wilmington proceedings, and I add my salutations and assurances of great respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, May 24, 1808.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * * *

What has been already said on the subject of Casa Calvo, Yrujo, Miranda, is sufficient, and that these should be seriously brought up again argues extreme weakness in Cavallos, or a plan to keep things unsettled with us. But I think it would not be amiss to take him down from his high airs as to the right of

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the sovereign to hinder the upper inhabitants from the use of the Mobile, by observing, 1st, that we claim to be the sovereign, although we give time for discussion. But 2d, that the upper inhabitants of a navigable water have always a right of innocent passage along it. I think Cavallos will not probably be the minister when the letter arrives at Madrid, and that an eye to that circumstance may perhaps have some proper influence on the style of the letter, in which, if meant for himself, his hyperbolic airs might merit less respect. I think too that the truth as to Pike's mission might be so simply stated as to need no argument to show that (even during the suspension of our claims to the eastern border of the Rio Norte) his getting on it was mere error, which ought to have called for the setting him right, instead of forcing him through the interior country. [Sullivan's letter.] His view of things for some time past has been entirely distempered.

Cathcart's, Ridgeley's, Navour's, Degen's, Appleton's, Lee's, and Baker's letters, are all returned. I salute you with great affection and respect.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

MONTICELLO, May 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—There is a subject on which I wished to speak with you before I left Washington; but an apt occasion did not occur. It is that of your continuance in office. Perhaps it is as well to submit

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my thoughts to you by letter. The present summer is too important in point of preparation, to leave your department unfilled, for any time, as I once thought might be done; and it would be with extreme reluctance that, so near the time of my own retirement, I should proceed to name any high officer, especially one who must be of the intimate councils of my successor, and who ought of course to be in his unreserved confidence. I think too it would make an honorable close of your term as well as mine, to leave our country in a state of substantial defence, which we found quite unprepared for it. Indeed, it would for me be a joyful annunciation to the next meeting of Congress, that the operations of defence are all complete. I know that New York must be an exception; but perhaps even that may be closed before the 4th of March, when you and I might both make our bow with approbation and satisfaction. Nor should I suppose that under present circumstances, anything interesting in your future office could make it important for you to repair to its immediate occupation. In February my successor will be declared, and may then, without reserve, say whom he would wish me to nominate to the Senate in your place. I submit these circumstances to your consideration, and wishing in all things to consult your interests, your fame and feelings, it will give me sincere joy to learn that you will "watch with me to the end." I salute you with great affection and respect.

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TO MR. LEIPER.

MONTICELLO, May 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of April 22d a little before I was to leave Washington, much engaged with despatching the business rendered necessary by the acts of Congress just risen, and preparatory to a short visit to this place. Here again I have been engrossed with some attentions to my own affairs, after a long absence, added to the public business which presses on me here as at Washington. I mention these things to apologize for the long delay of an answer to the address of the Democratic republicans of Philadelphia, enclosed in your letter, and which has remained longer unanswered than I wished. I have been happy in my journey through the country to this place, to find the people unanimous in their preference of the embargo to war, and the great sacrifice they make, rendered a cheerful one from a sense of its necessity.

Whether the pressure on the throne from the suffering people of England, and of their Islands, the conviction of the dishonorable as well as dishonest character of their orders of council, the strength of their parliamentary opposition, and remarkable weakness of the defence of their ministry, will produce a repeal of these orders and cessation of our embargo, is yet to be seen. To nobody will a repeal be so welcome as to myself. Give us peace till our revenues are liberated from debt, and then, if war be necessary,

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it can be carried on without a new tax or loan, and during peace we may chequer our whole country with canals, roads, etc. This is the object to which all our endeavors should be directed. I salute you with great friendship and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, May 27, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday yours of the 23d, and now return you Woolsey's and Astor's letters. I send you one also which I have received from a Mr. Thorne, on the evasions of the embargo on Lake Champlain. The conduct of some of our officers there, and of some excellent citizens, has been very meritorious, and I will thank you to express any degree of approbation you think proper, in my name, for Captain Mayo. Woolsey appears also to deserve assurances of approbation. If you think Thorne's suggestion of some militia at Point au Fer necessary and proper, be so good as to consult General Dearborn, who will give any order you and he approve. With respect to the coasting trade, my wish is only to carry into full effect the intentions of the embargo laws. I do not wish a single citizen in any of the States to be deprived of a meal of bread, but I set down the exercise of commerce, merely for profit, as nothing when it carries with it the danger of defeating the objects of the embargo. I have more faith,

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too, in the Governors. I cannot think that any one of them would wink at abuses of that law. Still, I like your circular of the 20th, and the idea there brought forward of confining the shipment to so small a proportion of the bond as may correspond with the exaggeration of price and foreign markets, and thus restrain the adventurer from gaining more than he would lose by dishonesty. Flour, by the latest accounts, I have observed, sold at about eight times its cost here, while the legal penalties are but about three prices—by restraining them to an eighth they will be balanced. But as prices rise must not our rules be varied? Had the practicability of this mode of restraint occurred before the recurrence to the Governors, I should have preferred it, because it is free from the objection of favoritism to which the Governors will be exposed, and if you find it work well in practice, we may find means to have the other course discontinued. Our course should be to sacrifice everything to secure the effect of the law, and nothing beyond that.

I enclose you an application of Neilson & Son, to which you will please to have given whatever answer is conformable to general rules. The petition of Gardner and others, masters of the Rhode Island packet ships, which I enclose you, does not specify the particular act required from us for their relief. If it be to declare that the open sea in front of their coast is a bay or a river, the matter of fact, as well as the law, renders that impossible. I really think

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it desirable to relieve their case, in any way which is lawful, because it is one, which though embraced by the words of the law, is not within its object. You mention that a principal method of evading the embargo is by loading secretly and going off without clearance. The naval department must aid us against this. As I shall leave this for Washington in about ten or twelve days, I now desire the post-office there to send no letters to this place after receiving this notice. All further matters relative to the embargo will therefore be answered verbally as soon as they could by letter. I salute you with great affection and respect.

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

MONTICELLO, May 29, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received the favor of your letter, written soon after your arrival, a little before I left Washington, and during a press of business preparatory to my departure on a short visit to this place; this has prevented my earlier congratulations to you on your safe return to your own country. There, judging from my own experience, you will enjoy much more of the tranquil happiness of life, than is to be found in the noisy scenes of the great cities of Europe. I am also aware that you had at Paris additional causes of disquietude; these seem inseparable from public life, and, indeed, are the greatest discouragements to entering into or continuing in it.

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Perhaps, however, they sweeten the hour of retirement, and secure us from all dangers of regret. On the subject of that disquietude, it is proper for me only to say that, however unfortunate the incident, I found in it no cause of dissatisfaction with yourself, nor of lessening the esteem I entertain for your virtues and talents; and, had it not been disagreeable to yourself, I should have been well pleased that you could have proceeded on your original destination.

While I thank you for the several letters received from you during your absence, I have to regret the miscarriage of some of those I wrote you. Not having my papers here, I cannot cite their dates by memory; but they shall be the subject of another letter on my return to Washington.

You find us on your return in a crisis of great difficulty. An embargo had, by the course of events, become the only peaceable card we had to play. Should neither peace, nor a revocation of the decrees and orders in Europe take place, the day cannot be distant when that will cease to be preferable to open hostility. Nothing just or temperate has been omitted on our part, to retard or to avoid this unprofitable alternative. Our situation will be the more singular, as we may have to choose between two enemies, who have both furnished cause of war. With one of them we could never come into contact; with the other great injuries may be mutually inflicted and received. Let us still hope to avoid, while we prepare to meet them.

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Hoping you will find our cloudless skies and benign climate more favorable to your health than those of Europe, I pray you to accept my friendly salutations, and assurances of great esteem and consideration.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, May 31, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I return you all the papers received from you by yesterday's mail, except Mr. Burnley's, which I shall send by the Secretary of War. Although all the appointments below field-officers are made, it is possible some may decline, and open a way for new competition. I have observed that Turreau's letters have for some time past changed their style unfavorably. I believe this is the first occasion he has had to complain of French deserters being enlisted by us, and if so, the tone of his application is improper. The answer to him, however, is obvious as to our laws and instructions, and the *discharge*, not *delivery*, of the men, for which purpose I presume you will write a line to the Secretary of War. Woodward's scruples are perplexing. And they are unfounded because, on his own principle, if a law requires an oath to be administered, and does not say by whom, he admits it may be any judge; if, therefore, it names a person no longer in existence, it is as if it named nobody. On this construction all the territories have practised, and all the authorities of the

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national government,—even the Legislature. It was wrong on a second ground; no judge ever refusing to administer an oath in any useful case, although he may not consider it as strictly judicial. If it may be valid or useful, he administers "*ut valeat quantum valer potest.*" But what is to be done? Would it not be well for you to send the case to the Attorney General, and get him to enclose his opinion to Governor Hull, who will use it with Judge Witherall, or some territorial judge or justice?

With the quarrel of Judge Vandeberg and his bar we cannot intermeddle. Mercer's querulous letter is an unreasonable one. How could his offer of service be acted on, but by putting it in the hands of those who were to act on all others?

I shall to-day direct the post-rider not to continue his route to this place after to-day, and to take your orders as to the time you would wish him to continue coming to you. I salute you with affectionate esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (JACOB CROWNINSHIELD).

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1808.

SIR,—I have considered the letter of the director of the mint, stating the ease with which the errors of Commodore Truxton's medal may be corrected on the medal itself, and the unpracticability of doing it on the die. In my former letter to you on this subject,

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I observed that to make a new die would be a serious thing, requiring consideration. In fact, the first die having been made by authority of the Legislature, the medal struck, accepted, and acquiesced in for so many years, the powers given by that law are executed and at an end, and a second law would be requisite to make a second die or medal. But I presume it will be quite as agreeable to Commodore Truxton to have his medal corrected in one way as another, if done equally well, and it certainly may be as well or better done by the graver, and with more delicate traits. I remember it was the opinion of Doctor Franklin that where only one or a few medals were to be made, it was better to have them engraved.

The medal being corrected, the die becomes immaterial. That has never been delivered to the party, the medal itself being the only thing voted to him. I say this on certain grounds, because I think this and Preble's are the only medals given by the United States which have not been made under my immediate direction. The dies of all those given by the old Congress, and made at Paris, remain to this day deposited with our bankers at Paris. That of General Lee, made in Philadelphia, was retained in the mint. I mention this not as of consequence whether the die be given or retained, but to show that there can be no claim of the party to it, or consequently to its correction. I think, therefore, the medal itself should be corrected by Mr. Reich; that this is as

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far as we can stretch our authority, and I hope it will be satisfactory to the Commodore. I salute you with constant affection and respect.

TO SHELTON GILLIAM, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1808.

SIR,—Your favor of the 4th was received on my return to this place, and the proposition of your correspondent on the subject of fortification was referred to the Secretary of War, where office and qualifications make him the proper judge of it. I enclose you his answer. The same prudence which in private life would forbid our paying our own money for unexplained projects, forbids it in the dispensation of the public moneys. It is not enough that an individual and an unknown one says and even thinks he has made a discovery of the magnitude announced on this occasion. Not only explanation, but the actual experiment must be required before we can cease to doubt whether the inventor is not deceived by some false or imperfect view of his subject. Still your patriotic attention to bring such a proposition under our notice, that it might be applied to the public good, if susceptible of it, is praiseworthy, and I return you thanks for it with the assurances of my esteem and respect.

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TO CHRISTOPHER COLLES.

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1808.

SIR,—I thank you for the pamphlet containing your ideas on the subject of canals constructed of wood: but it is not in my power to give any definite opinion of its national importance. If there exists a cement which used as a lining for cisterns and aqueducts, renders them impermeable to water, (and it is affirmed that in France they are in the possession and use of such an one,) then it becomes the common question whether constructions of wood, brick, or rough stone are cheapest in the end? A question on which every man possesses materials for forming his judgment. I suspect it is the supposed necessity of using hewn stone in works of this kind which has had the greatest effect in discouraging their being undertaken. I tender you my salutations and respects.

TO JAMES PEMBERTON.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1808.

SIR,—Your favor of May 30th was delivered me on my return to this place, and I now enclose the prospectus of Clarkson's history with my subscription to it. I have perused with great satisfaction the Report of the Committee for the African institution. The sentiments it breathes are worthy of the eminent characters who compose the institution,

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as are also the generous cares they propose to undertake. I wish they may begin their work at the right end. Our experience with the Indians has proved that letters are not the first, but the last step in the progression from barbarism to civilization. Our Indian neighbors will occupy all the attentions we may spare, towards the improvement of their condition. The four great Southern tribes are advancing hopefully. The foremost are the Cherokees, the upper settlements of whom have made to me a formal application to be received into the Union as citizens of the United States, and to be governed by our laws. If we can form for them a simple and acceptable plan of advancing by degrees to a maturity for receiving our laws, the example will have a powerful effect towards stimulating the other tribes in the same progression, and will cheer the gloomy views which have overspread their minds as to their own future history. I salute you with friendship and great respect.

TO WALTER FRANKLIN.

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1808.

Thomas Jefferson returns his thanks to Mr. Franklin for the address to the Society of Friends which he was so kind as to send him. The appeal both to facts and principles is strong, and their consistency will require an able advocate. Conscious that the present administration has been essentially pacific,

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and that in all questions of importance it has been governed by the identical principles professed by that Society, it has been quite at a loss to conjecture the unknown cause of the opposition of the greater part, and bare neutrality of the rest. The hope, however, that prejudices would at length give way to facts, has never been entirely extinguished, and still may be realized in favor of another administration.

TO DOCTOR THOMAS LEIB.

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1808.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor covering a copy of the talk to the Tammany society, for which I thank you, and particularly for the favorable sentiments expressed towards myself. Certainly, nothing will so much sweeten the tranquillity and comfort of retirement, as the knowledge that I carry with me the good will and approbation of my republican fellow-citizens, and especially of the individuals in unison with whom I have so long acted. With respect to the federalists, I believe we think alike; for when speaking of them, we never mean to include a worthy portion of our fellow-citizens, who consider themselves as in duty bound to support the constituted authorities of every branch, and to reserve their opposition to the period of election. These having acquired the appellation of federalists, while a federal administration was in place, have not cared

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about throwing off their name, but adhering to their principle, are the supporters of the present order of things. The other branch of the federalists, those who are so in principle as well as in name, disapprove of the republican principles and features of our Constitution, and would, I believe, welcome any public calamity (war with England excepted) which might lessen the confidence of our country in those principles and forms. I have generally considered them rather as subjects for a mad-house. But they are now playing a game of the most mischievous tendency, without perhaps being themselves aware of it. They are endeavoring to convince England that we suffer more by the embargo than they do, and if they will but hold out awhile, we must abandon it. It is true, the time will come when we must abandon it. But if this is before the repeal of the orders of council, we must abandon it only for a state of war. The day is not distant, when that will be preferable to a longer continuance of the embargo. But we can never remove that, and let our vessels go out and be taken under these orders, without making reprisal. Yet this is the very state of things which these federal monarchists are endeavoring to bring about; and in this it is but too possible they may succeed. But the fact is, that if we have war with England, it will be solely produced by their manœuvres. I think that in two or three months we shall know what will be the issue.

I salute you with esteem and respect.

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TO GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1808.

Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to General Wilkinson, and in answer to his letters of yesterday observes that during the course of the Burr conspiracy, the voluminous communications he received were generally read but once and then committed to the Attorney General, and were never returned to him. It is not in his power, therefore, to say that General Wilkinson did or did not denounce eminent persons to him, and still less who they were. It was unavoidable that he should from time to time mention persons known or supposed to be accomplices of Burr, and it is recollected that some of these suspicions were corrected afterwards on better information. Whether the undefined term *denunciation* goes to cases of this kind or not Thomas Jefferson does not know, nor could he now name from recollection the persons suspected at different times. He salutes General Wilkinson respectfully.

TO COLONEL DANIEL C. BRENT.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—The information given to me by Mrs. Paradise of letters to me from her grandsons, is without foundation. I have not for many years heard a tittle respecting the family at Venice. Should any information respecting them come to me I will certainly communicate it to Mrs. Paradise.

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That the embargo is approved by the body of republicans through the Union, cannot be doubted. It is equally known that a great proportion of the federalists approve of it; but as they think it an engine which may be used advantageously against the republican system, they countenance the clamors against it. I salute you with great friendship and respect

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TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1808.

General Turreau's application for two vessels to carry French subjects to France, must, I think, be granted, because under present circumstances we ought not on slight grounds to dissatisfy either belligerent. The vessels may be back before winter, and their only danger will be of stoppage by the English, who, however, have no right but to take out the French subjects.

At the same time, I think it would be well to say to General Turreau that we reluctantly let our seamen be exposed to capture, or perhaps to a voluntary engagement with one of the belligerents: that we rely, therefore, on his so proportioning the vessels to the number of passengers as merely to give them a reasonable accommodation. It would be well, too, that he should inform us after their departure, of the number of persons sent in them.

Affectionate salutes.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1808.

SIR,—I have lately seen a printed report of the committee of the Canal company of New Orleans, stating the progress and prospects of their enterprise. In this the United States feel a strong interest, inasmuch as it will so much facilitate the passage of our armed vessels out of the one water into the other. For this purpose, however, there must be at least five and a half feet water through the whole line of communication from the lake to the river. In some conversations with Mr. Clark on this subject the winter before last, there was a mutual understanding that the company would complete the canal, and the United States would make the locks. This we are still disposed to do; and so anxious are we to get this means of defence completed, that to hasten it we would contribute any other encouragement within the limits of our authority which might produce this effect. If, for instance, the completion of it within one year could be insured by our contributing such a sum as one or two thousand dollars a month to the amount of twenty thousand dollars, in the whole, we might do it, requiring as a consideration for our justification that the vessels of the United States should always pass toll-free. The object of this letter is to sound the principal members, without letting them know you do it by instruction from us, and to find out what moderate and reasonable aid on our part

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would be necessary to get a speedy conclusion of the work, and in what form that aid would be most useful, and to be so good as to communicate it to me as soon as the knowledge is obtained by yourself. I should be glad to learn, at the same time, what is the perpendicular height of the top of the levee above the surface of the water in the Mississippi in its lowest state. Five and a half feet below this would be indispensable for our purposes. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1808.

1. (Peyton Skipwigh's letter.) I approve of the proposition to authorize the collector of St. Mary's or Savannah to permit vessels to bring to St. Mary's such supplies as in his opinion are really wanted for the individuals applying, and where he has entire confidence no fraud will be committed. But the vessels should be reasonably proportioned to the cargo. Should this be extended to Passamaquoddy?

2. (The cases of detention by Gelston and Turner.) The Legislature finding that no general rules could be formed which would not be evaded by avarice and roguery, finally authorized the collector, if there were still circumstances of suspicion, to detain the vessel. Wherever, therefore, the collector is impressed with suspicion, from a view of all circumstances, which

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are often indescribable, I think it proper to confirm his detention. It would be only where, from his own showing, or other good information, prejudice or false views biassed his judgment, that I should be disposed to countermand his detention.

3. The declaration of the bakers of New York, that their citizens will be dissatisfied, under the present circumstances of their country, to eat bread of the flour of their own State, is equally a libel on the produce and citizens of the State. The citizens have certainly a right to speak for themselves on such occasions, and when they do we shall be able to judge whether their numbers or characters are such as to be entitled to a sacrifice of the embargo law. If this prevails, the next application will be for vessels to go to New York for the pippins of that State, because they are higher flavored than the same species of apples growing in other States.

4. We should by all means appoint a new collector at Sackett's Harbor. If the Governor knows nobody there who can be depended on, can he not find some faithful man in the city or country who would consider the emoluments acceptable, such as they are?

5. The seizure by Mr. Illsley not being under the embargo law, will take its course. With respect to the aid of gunboats, desired by him and Mr. Holmes of Sunbury, or any military aid, that can always be settled directly between Mr. Gallatin and the Secretaries of the Navy or War. Both those gentlemen know our extreme anxiety to give a full effect to the

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important experiment of the embargo, at any expense within the bounds of reason, and will, on the application of Mr. Gallatin, yield the aid of their departments without waiting the delay of consulting me.

I have gone a little into the grounds of these opinions, in order that there being a mutual understanding on these subjects, Mr. Gallatin during the time of our separation may decide on the cases occurring, without the delay of consulting me at such a distance. My principle is that the conveniences of our citizens shall yield reasonably, and their taste greatly to the importance of giving the present experiment so fair a trial that on future occasions our legislators may know with certainty how far they may count on it as an engine for national purposes.

TO MONSIEUR DE LA CEPEDE.

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1808.

SIR,—If my recollection does not deceive me, the collection of the remains of the animal incognitum of the Ohio (sometimes called mammoth), possessed by the Cabinet of Natural History at Paris, is not very copious. Under this impression, and presuming that this Cabinet is allied to the National Institute, to which I am desirous of rendering some service, I have lately availed myself of an opportunity of collecting some of those remains. General Clarke (the companion of Governor Lewis in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean) being, on a late journey, to

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pass by the Big-bone Lick of the Ohio, was kind enough to undertake to employ for me a number of laborers, and to direct their operations in digging for these bones at this important deposit of them. The result of these researches will appear in the enclosed catalogue of specimens which I am now able to place at the disposal of the National Institute. An aviso being to leave this place for some port of France on public service, I deliver the packages to Captain Haley, to be deposited with the Consul of the United States, at whatever port he may land. They are addressed to Mr. Warden of our legation at Paris, for the National Institute, and he will have the honor of delivering them. To these I have added the horns of an animal called by the natives the Mountain Ram, resembling the sheep by his head, but more nearly the deer in his other parts; as also the skin of another animal, resembling the sheep by his fleece but the goat in his other parts. This is called by the natives the Fleecy Goat, or in the style of the natural historian, the Pokotragos. I suspect it to be nearly related to the Pacos, and were we to group the fleecy animals together, it would stand perhaps with the Vigogne, Pacos, and Sheep. The Mountain Ram was found in abundance by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke on their western tour, and was frequently an article of food for their party, and esteemed more delicate than the deer. The Fleecy Goat they did not see, but procured two skins from the Indians, of which this is one. Their description

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will be given in the work of Governor Lewis, the journal and geographical part of which may be soon expected from the press; but the parts relating to the plants and animals observed in his tour, will be delayed by the engravings. In the meantime, the plants of which he brought seeds, have been very successfully raised in the botanical garden of Mr. Hamilton of the Woodlands, and by Mr. McMahon, a gardener of Philadelphia; and on the whole, it is with pleasure I can assure you that the addition to our knowledge in every department, resulting from this tour of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, has entirely fulfilled my expectations in setting it on foot, and that the world will find that those travellers have well earned its favor. I will take care that the Institute as well as yourself shall receive Governor Lewis's work as it appears.

It is with pleasure I embrace this occasion of returning you my thanks for the favor of your very valuable works, *sur les poissons et les cetacées*, which you were so kind as to send me through Mr. Livingston and General Turreau, and which I find entirely worthy of your high reputation in the literary world. That I have not sooner made this acknowledgment has not proceeded from any want of respect and attachment to yourself, or a just value of your estimable present, but from the strong and incessant calls of duty to other objects. The candor of your character gives me confidence of your indulgence on this head, and I assure you with truth that no circum-

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stances are more welcome to me than those which give me the occasion of recalling myself to your recollection, and of renewing to you the assurances of sincere personal attachment, and of great respect and consideration.

Contents of the large square box

A fibia.

A radius.

Two ribs belonging to the upper part of the thorax.

Two ribs from lower part of the thorax.

One entire vertebra.

Two spinous processes of the vertebra broken from the bodies.

Dentes molares, which appear to have belonged to the full-grown animal.

A portion of the under-jaw of a young animal with two molar teeth in it.

These teeth appear to have belonged to a first set, as they are small, and the posterior has but three grinding ridges, instead of five, the common number in adult teeth of the lower jaw.

Another portion of the under-jaw, including the symphisis, or chin. In this portion the teeth of one side are every way complete; to wit, the posterior has five transverse ridges, and the anterior three.

A fragment of the upper-jaw with one molar tooth much worn.

Molar teeth which we suppose to be like those of the mammoth or elephant of Siberia. They are

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essentially different from those of the mammoth or elephant of this country, and although similar in some respects to the teeth of the Asiatic elephant, they agree more completely with the description of the teeth found in Siberia in the arrangement and size of the transverse lamina of enamel. This idea, however, is not derived from actual comparison of the different teeth with each other, for we have no specimens of Siberian teeth in this country; but from inferences deduced from the various accounts and drawings of these teeth to be found in books. A few of these teeth have been found in several places where the bones of the American animal have existed.

An astragalus.

An os calcis.

Os naviculare.

In the large box in which the preceding bones are, is a small one containing a promiscuous mass of small bones, chiefly of the feet.

In the large irregular-shaped box, a tusk of large size. The spiral twist in all the specimens of these tusks which we have seen, was remarked so long ago as the time of Breyneus, in his description of the tusks of the Siberian mammoth in the Philosophical Transactions, if that paper is rightly recollected, for the book is not here to be turned to at present. Many fragments of tusks have been sent from the Ohio, generally resembling portions of such tusks as are brought to us in the course of commerce. But of these spiral tusks, in a tolerable complete state, we

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have had only four. One is found near the head of the north branch of the Susquehanna. A second possessed by Mr. Peale, was found with the skeleton, near the Hudson. A third is at Monticello, found with the bones of this collection at the Big-bone Lick of Ohio, and the fourth is that now sent for the Institute, found at the same place and larger than that at Monticello.

The smallest box contains the horns of the mountain ram, and skin of the fleecy goat.

TO MONSIEUR SYLVESTRE.

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1808.

SIR,—I had received from you on a former occasion the four first volumes of the Memoirs of the Agricultural Society of the Seine, and since that, your letter of September 19th, with the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th volumes, being for the years 1804, '5, '6, with some separate memoirs. These I have read with great avidity and satisfaction, and now return you my thanks for them. But I owe particular acknowledgments for the valuable present of the Théâtre de Serres, which I consider as a prodigy for the age in which it was composed, and shows an advancement in the science of agriculture which I had never suspected to have belonged to that time. Brought down to the present day by the very valuable notes added, it is really such a treasure of agricultural knowledge, as has not before been offered to the world in a single work.

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It is not merely for myself, but for my country, that I must do homage to the philanthropy of the Society, which has dictated their destination for me of their newly improved plough. I shall certainly so use it as to answer their liberal views, by making the opportunities of profiting by it as general as possible.

I have just received information that a plough addressed to me has arrived at New York, *from England*, but unaccompanied by any letter or other explanation. As I have had no intimation of such an article to be forwarded to me from that country, I presume it is the one sent by the Society of the Seine, that it has been carried into England under their orders of council, and permitted to come on from thence. This I shall know within a short time. I shall with great pleasure attend to the construction and transmission to the Society of a plough with my mould-board. This is the only part of that useful instrument to which I have paid any particular attention. But knowing how much the perfection of the plough must depend, 1st, on the line of traction; 2d, on the direction of the share; 3d, on the angle of the wing; 4th, on the form of the mould-board; and persuaded that I shall find the three first advantages eminently exemplified in that which the Society sends me, I am anxious to see combined with these a mould-board of my form, in the hope it will still advance the perfection of that machine. But for this I must ask time till I am relieved from the cares

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which have now a right to all my time, that is to say, till the next spring. Then giving, in the leisure of retirement, all the time and attention this construction merits and requires, I will certainly render to the Society the result in a plough of the best form I shall be able to have executed. In the meantime, accept for them and yourself the assurances of my high respect and consideration.

TO MONSIEUR LASTEYRIE.

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1808.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of March 28th, and with it your treatises on the culture of the sugar cane and cotton plant in France. The introduction of new cultures, and especially of objects of leading importance to our comfort, is certainly worthy the attention of every government, and nothing short of the actual experiment should discourage an essay of which any hope can be entertained. Till that is made, the result is open to conjecture; and I should certainly conjecture that the sugar cane could never become an article of profitable culture in France. We have within the ancient limits of the United States, a great extent of country which brings the orange to advantage, but not a foot in which the sugar cane can be matured. France, within its former limits, has but two small spots, (Olivreles and Hieres) which brings the orange in open air, and *a fortiori*, therefore, none proper for

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the cane. I should think the maple-sugar more worthy of experiment. There is no part of France of which the climate would not admit this tree. I have never seen a reason why every farmer should not have a sugar orchard, as well as an apple orchard. The supply of sugar for his family would require as little ground, and the process of making it as easy as that of cider. Mr. Micheaux, your botanist here, could send you plants as well as seeds, in any quantity from the United States. I have no doubt the cotton plant will succeed in some of the southern parts of France. Whether its culture will be as advantageous as those they are now engaged in, remains to be tried. We could, in the United States, make as great a variety of wines as are made in Europe, not exactly of the same kinds, but doubtless as good. Yet I have ever observed to my countrymen, who think its introduction important, that a laborer cultivating wheat, rice, tobacco, or cotton here, will be able with the proceeds, to purchase double the quantity of the wine he could make. Possibly the same quantity of land and labor in France employed on the rich produce of your Southern counties, would purchase double the quantity of the cotton they would yield there. This however may prove otherwise on trial, and therefore it is worthy the trial. In general, it is a truth that if every nation will employ itself in what it is fittest to produce, a greater quantity will be raised of the things contributing to human happiness, than if

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every nation attempts to raise everything it wants within itself. The limits within which the cotton plant is worth cultivating in the United States, are the Rappahannock river to the north, and the first mountains to the west. And even from the Rappahannock to the Roanoke, we only cultivate for family use, as it cannot there be afforded at market in competition with that of the more Southern region. The Mississippi country, also within the same latitudes, admits the culture of cotton.

The superficial view I have yet had time to take of your treatise on the cotton plant, induces a belief that it is rich and correct in its matter, and contains a great fund of learning on that plant. When retired to rural occupations, as I shall be ere long, I shall profit of its contents practically, in the culture of that plant merely for household manufacture. In that situation, too, I shall devote myself to occupations much more congenial with my inclinations than those to which I have been called by the character of the times into which my lot was cast. About to be relieved from this *corvée* by age and the fulfilment of the *quadragena stipendia*, what remains to me of physical activity will chiefly be employed in the amusements of agriculture. Having little practical skill, I count more on the pleasures than the profits of that occupation. They will give me, too, the leisure which my present situation nearly denies, of rendering such services as may be within my means, to the Institute, the Agricultural Society of

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the Seine, to yourself, and such other worthy individuals as may find any convenience in a correspondence here. I shall then be able particularly to fulfil the wishes expressed, of my sending to the Society of Agriculture a plough with my mould-board. Perhaps I may be able to add some other implements, peculiar to us, to the collection which I perceive that the Society is making. I salute you, Sir, with assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
(JACOB CROWNINSHIELD).

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Complaints multiply upon us of evasions of the embargo laws, by fraud and force. These come from Newport, Portland, Machias, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, etc., etc. As I do consider the severe enforcement of the embargo to be of an importance, not to be measured by money, for our future government as well as present objects, I think it will be advisable that during this summer all the gunboats, actually manned and in commission, should be distributed through as many ports and bays as may be necessary to assist the embargo. On this subject I will pray you to confer with Mr. Gallatin, who will call on you on his passage through Baltimore, and to communicate with him hereafter, *directly*, without the delay of consulting me, and generally to aid this object with such means of your department as are consistent with its situation.

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I think I shall be able to leave this place by Wednesday. I will mention for your information, that the post for Milton leaves this place on Tuesdays and Fridays, and arrives at it on Sundays and, I believe, Thursdays.

I salute you with affection and respect.

TO ROBERT SMITH, OF THE WAR OFFICE.

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1808.

SIR,—The correspondence which you sent me the other day, between the British commanders and our officers in Moose Island, is now in the hands of Mr. Madison, and will be delivered to you on application. On consulting him and Mr. Gallatin, I find the facts to be that Moose Island has ever been in our possession, as well before as ever since the treaty of peace with Great Britain; that in the convention formed between Mr. King and the British government, about four years ago, wherein our limits in that quarter were mutually recognized, Moose Island was expressly acknowledged to belong to us; and, through an account of an article respecting Louisiana, the convention has not yet been ratified, yet both parties have acted on the article of these limits as if it had been ratified,—each party considering the parts then assigned to them as no longer questioned by the other.

I think you had better communicate the papers, with a copy of that article of the convention, to Gen-

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eral Dearborn, with these observations, from whom the answer to our officer will go with more propriety. If you will speak on this subject with Mr. Madison, he will, perhaps, be able to state to you what passed between us on this subject more fully than I have done. Accept my salutations.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JAMES SULLIVAN.[1]

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1808.

SIR,—In my letter of May 6th I asked the favor of your Excellency, as I did of the Governors of other States not furnishing in their interior country flour sufficient for the consumption of the State, to take the trouble of giving certificates, in favor of any merchants meriting confidence, for the quantities necessary for consumption beyond the interior supplies. Having desired from the Treasury Department a statement of the quantities called for under these certificates, I find that those of your Excellency, received at the Treasury, amount to 51,000 barrels of flour, 108,400 bushels of Indian corn, 560 tierces of rice, 2,000 bushels of rye, and, in addition thereto, that there had been given certificates for either 12,450 barrels of flour, or 40,000 bushels of corn. As these supplies, although called for within the space of two months, will undoubtedly furnish the consumption of your State for a much longer time, I have thought it advisable to ask the favor of your

[1] Governor of Massachusetts.

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Excellency, after the receipt of this letter, to discontinue issuing any other certificates, that we may not unnecessarily administer facilities to the evasion of the embargo laws; for I repeat what I observed in my former letter, that these evasions are effected chiefly by vessels clearing coastwise. But while I am desirous of preventing the frauds which go to defeat the salutary objects of these laws, I am equally so that the fair consumption of our citizens may in nowise be abridged. It would, therefore, be deemed a great favor if your Excellency could have me furnished with an estimate, on the best data possessed, of the quantities of flour, corn, and rice, which, in addition to your internal supplies, may be necessary for the consumption, in any given time, of those parts of your State which habitually depend on importation for these articles. I ask this the more freely, because I presume you must have had such an estimate formed for the government, of your discretion in issuing the preceding certificates, and because it may be so necessary for our future government. I salute you with assurance of great respect and esteem.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.[1]

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1808.

SIR,—After writing my letter of the 9th, I received one from Mr. Pitot in the name of the New Orleans

[1] Governor of Louisiana Territory.

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Canal Company, which ought to have come with the printed report, stating more fully their views, and more explicitly the way in which we can aid them. They ask specifically that we should lend them $50,000, or take the remaining fourth of their shares now on hand. This last measure is too much out of our policy of not embarking the public in enterprises better managed by individuals, and which might occupy as much of our time as those political duties for which the public functionaries are particularly instituted. Some money could be lent them, but only on an assurance that it would be employed so as to secure the public objects. The first interests of the company will be to bring a practicable navigation from the Lake Pontchartrain through the Bayou St. Jean and Canal de Carondelet to the city, because that entitles them to a toll on the profitable part of the enterprise. But this would answer no object of the government unless it was carried through to the Mississippi, so that our armed vessels drawing five feet water might pass through. Instead therefore of the ground I suggested in my last letter, I would propose to lend them a sum of money on the condition of their applying it entirely to that part of the canal which, beginning at the Mississippi, goes round the city to a junction with the canal of Carondelet, and we may moreover at our own expense erect the locks. The Secretary of War not being here, I cannot propose these or any other terms precisely, but you may more openly than I proposed in my last

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letter, give these as the general shape of the aid which we contemplate, collect the ideas of individual members, and communicate them to me, so that when I shall have an opportunity of consulting the Secretary of War we may put our proposition in the form most acceptable to them. On this subject I shall wish to hear from you soon.

Mr. Livingston was here lately, and finding that we considered the Batture as now resting with Congress, and that it was our duty to keep it clear of all adversary possession till their decision is obtained, wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, which, if we understand it, amounts to a declaration that he will on his return bring the authority of the court into array against that of the executive, and endeavor to obtain a forcible possession. But I presume that the court knows too well that the title of the United States to land is subject to the jurisdiction of no court, it having never been deemed safe to submit the major interests of the nation to an ordinary tribunal, or to any one but such as the Legislature establishes for the special occasion; and the Marshal will find his duty too plainly marked out in the act of March 3, 1807, to be at a loss to determine what authority he is to obey. It will be well however that you should have due attention paid to this subject, and particularly to apprise Mr. Grymes to be prepared to take care that the public rights receive no detriment.

I salute you with great respect and esteem.

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TO GOVERNOR MERIWETHER LEWIS.

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Since I parted with you in Albemarle in September last, I have never had a line from you nor I believe has the Secretary of War with whom you have much connection through the Indian department. The misfortune which attended the effort to send the Mandan chief home, became known to us before you had reached St. Louis. We took no step on the occasion, counting on receiving your advice so soon as you should be in place, and knowing that your knowledge of the whole subject and presence on the spot would enable you to judge better than we could what ought to be done. The constant persuasion that something from you must be on its way to us, has as constantly prevented our writing to you on the subject. The present letter, however, is written to put an end at length to this mutual silence, and to ask from you a communication of what you think best to be done to get the chief and his family back. We consider the good faith, and the reputation of the nation, as pledged to accomplish this. We would wish indeed, not to be obliged to undertake any considerable military expedition in the present uncertain state of our foreign concerns, and especially not till the new body of troops shall be raised. But if it can be effected in any other way and at any reasonable expense, we are disposed to meet it.

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A powerful company is at length forming for taking up the Indian commerce on a large scale. They will employ a capital the first year of 300,000, and raise it afterwards to a million. The English Mackinac company will probably withdraw from the competition. It will be under the direction of a most excellent man, a Mr. Astor, merchant of New York, long engaged in the business, and perfectly master of it. He has some hope of seeing you at St. Louis, in which case I recommend him to your particular attention. Nothing but the exclusive possession of the Indian commerce can secure us their peace.

Our foreign affairs do not seem to clear up at all. Should they continue as at present, the moment will come when it will be a question for the Legislature whether war will not be preferable to a longer continuance of the embargo.

The Presidential question is clearing up daily, and the opposition subsiding. It is very possible that the suffrage of the nation may be undivided. But with this question it is my duty not to intermeddle. I have not lately heard of your friends in Albemarle. They were well when I left there in June, and not hearing otherwise affords presumptions they are well. But I presume you hear that from themselves. We have no tidings yet of the forwardness of your printer. I hope the first part will not be delayed much longer. Wishing you every blessing of life and health, I salute you with constant affection and respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1808.

DEAR GENERAL,—I had written to Governor Claiborne according to what had been agreed between you and myself, after which I received a letter from Pitot on behalf of the Canal company of New Orleans, which should have accompanied the printed report I communicated to you. The letter agrees with the report, and asks specifically that we should either lend them fifty thousand dollars, or buy the remaining fourth part of their shares now on hand. On consultation with Mr. Madison, Gallatin, and Rodney, we concluded it best to say we would lend them a sum of money if they would agree to lay out the whole of it in making the canal from the Mississippi round the town to its junction with the canal of Carondelet; and I wrote to Claiborne to sound the members of the company, and to find out if there were any modifications which would render the proposition more acceptable, to communicate them to me, and that when I should have an opportunity of consulting you, we would make the proposition in form.

I send you a letter of General Wilkinson's, the papers it covered, and my answer, which will sufficiently explain themselves. That in cases of military operations some occasions for secret service money must arise, is certain. But I think that they should

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be more fully explained to the government than the General has done, seems also proper.

Mr. Smith will send you some British complaints on our fortifying Moose Islands, and the kind of answer recommended on consultation with the heads of departments.

We have such complaints of the breach of embargo by fraud and force on our northern water line, that I must pray your co-operation with the Secretary of the Treasury by rendezvousing as many new recruits as you can in that quarter. The Osage brought us nothing in the least interesting. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR CHARLES PINCKNEY.

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of May 28 has been duly received, and in it the proceeding of the Court on the mandamus to the collector of Charleston. I saw them with great concern because of the quarter from whence they came, and where they could not be ascribed to any political waywardness.

The Legislature having found, after repeated trials, that no general rules could be formed which fraud and avarice would not elude, concluded to leave, in those who were to execute the power, a discretionary power paramount to all their general rules. This discretion was of necessity lodged with the collector in the first instance, but referred, finally, to the Presi-

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dent, lest there should be as many measures of law or discretion for our citizens as there were collectors of districts. In order that the first decisions by the collectors might also be as uniform as possible, and that the inconveniences of temporary detention might be imposed by general and equal rules throughout the States, we thought it advisable to draw some outlines for the government of the discretion of the collectors, and to bring them all to one tally.

With this view they were advised to consider all shipments of flour *prima facie*, as suspicious. Because, if pretended to be for a State which made enough within itself, it could not, in these times, but be suspicious, and, if for a State which needed importations, we had provided, by the aid of the Governors of those States, a criterion for that case.

But your collector seems to have decided for himself that, instead of a general rule applicable equally to all, the personal character of the shipper was a better criterion, and his own individual opinion too, of that character.

You will see at once to what this would have led in the hands of an hundred collectors, of all sorts of characters, connections, and principles, and what grounds would have been given for the malevolent charges of favoritism with which the federal papers have reproached even the trust we reposed in the first and highest magistrates of particular States. It has been usual in another department, after the decision of any point by the superior tribunal is

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known, for the inferior one to conform to that decision. The declaration of Mr. Theus, that *he* did not consider the case as suspicious, founded on his individual opinion of the shipper, broke down that barrier which we had endeavored to erect against favoritism, and furnished the grounds for the subsequent proceedings. The attorney for the United States seems to have considered the acquiescence of the collector as dispensing with any particular attentions to the case, and the judge to have taken it as a case agreed between plaintiff and defendant, and brought to him only formally to be placed on his records. But this question has too many important bearings on the constitutional organization of our government, to let it go off so carelessly. I send you the Attorney General's opinion on it, formed on great consideration and consultation. It is communicated to the collectors and marshals for their future government. I hope, however, the business will stop here, and that no similar case will occur. A like attempt has been made in another State, which I believe failed in the outset.

I have seen, with great satisfaction, the circumspection and moderation with which you have been so good as to act under my letter of May 6th. I owe the same approbation to some other of the Governors, but not to every one. Our good citizens having submitted to such sacrifices under the present experiment, I am determined to exert every power the law has vested in me for its rigorous fulfilment; that we

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may know the full value and effect of this measure on any future occasion on which a resort to it might be contemplated.

The Osage did not bring us a tittle of anything interesting. The absence of the Emperor from Paris makes that a scene of no business; and I do not think we are to consider the course of the British government as finally decided, until the nation, as well as the ministry, are possessed of the communications to Congress of March 22, and our act hanging the duration of the embargo laws on that of the orders of council. The newspapers say Mr. Rose is coming over again. Mr. Pinckney did not know this at the departure of the Osage. Yet it may be so. It is well calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the nation, and to silence all attempts of the opposition to force a change of their measures. In this view it is a masterly stroke. The truth is that their debt is become such as the nation can no longer pay its interest. Their omnipotence at sea has bloated their imaginations so as to persuade them they can oblige all nations to carry all their produce to their island as an entrepot, to pay them a tax on it, and receive their license to carry it to its ultimate market. It is indeed a desperate throw, in the language of Canning, and who knows, says he, what the dice may turn up?

I answer, we know.

Since writing so far, I received your favor of June 30th, covering resolutions of your Legislature. They are truly worthy of them, and never could declara-

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tions be better timed for dissipating the delusions in which the British government are nourished by the federal papers, and prevented from that return to justice which alone can continue our peace.

Wishing you every blessing of health and life, I salute you with assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, July 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you the petition of Somes, to do in it whatever is agreeable to general rule.

Punqua Winchung, the Chinese Mandarin, has, I believe, his headquarters at New York, and therefore his case is probably known to you. He came to Washington just as I had left it, and therefore wrote to me, praying permission to depart for his own country with his property, in a vessel to be engaged by himself. I enclose you Mr. Madison's letter, which contains everything I know on the subject. I consider it as a case of national comity, and coming within the views of the first section of the first embargo act. The departure of this individual with good dispositions, may be the means of making our nation known advantageously at the source of power in China, to which it is otherwise difficult to convey information. It may be of sensible advantage to our merchants in that country. I

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cannot, therefore, but consider that a chance of obtaining a permanent national good should overweigh the effect of a single case taken out of the great field of the embargo. The case, too, is so singular, that it can lead to no embarrassment as a precedent.

I think, therefore, he should be permitted to engage a vessel to carry himself and his property, under such cautions and recommendations to him as you shall think best.

I leave it therefore to yourself to direct all the necessary details without further application to me, and for this purpose send you a blank passport for the vessel, etc., and Mr. Graham will obtain and forward you passports from the foreign ministers here. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO WILLIAM B. BIBB.

MONTICELLO, July 28, 1808.

SIR,—I received duly your favor of July 1st, covering an offer of Mr. McDonald of an iron mine to the public, and I thank you for taking the trouble of making the communication, as it might have its utility. But having always observed that public works are much less advantageously managed than the same are by private hands, I have thought it better for the public to go to market for whatever it wants which is to be found there; for there competition brings it down to the minimum of value. I have no doubt we can buy brass cannon at market cheaper than we

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could make iron ones. I think it material too, not to abstract the high executive officers from those functions which nobody else is charged to carry on, and to employ them in superintending works which are going on abundantly in private hands. Our predecessors went on different principles; they bought iron mines, and sought for copper ones. We own a mine at Harper's Ferry of the finest iron ever put into a cannon, which we are afraid to attempt to work. We have rented it heretofore, but it is now without a tenant.

We send a vessel to France and England every six weeks, for the purposes of public as well as mercantile correspondence. These the public papers are in the habit of magnifying into special missionaries for great and special purposes. It is true that they carry our public despatches, whether the subject of the day happens to be great or small. The Osage was one of these; but she was charged with nothing more than repetitions of instructions to our ministers not to cease in their endeavors to have the obnoxious orders and decrees repealed. She brought not a tittle of the least interest. The St. Michael was another of these vessels, and may now be expected in a few days. The schooner Hope was a third, and sailed a few days ago. She may be expected a fortnight before Congress meets, and our ministers are apprised that whatsoever the belligerent powers mean to do, must be done before that time, as on the state of things then existing and known to us, Congress will have to

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act. I return the letter of Mr. McDonald, as it may be useful for other purposes, and salute you with esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, July 29, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter of information of what is passing on the Canada line. To prevent it is, I suppose, beyond our means, but we must try to harass the unprincipled agents, and punish as many as we can.

I transmit, also, the petition of Tyson and James, millers of Baltimore, for permission to send a load of flour to New Orleans, to direct in it what is regular for I do not see any circumstance in the case sufficiently peculiar to take it out of the rule. If their views are honest, as I suppose them to be, it would be a great relief to them to be permitted, by giving bond for an increased valuation, to send their flour to its destination, and equal relief to us from these tormenting applications. Yet, as the other gentlemen seemed not satisfied that it would be legal, I would not have it done on my own opinion alone, however firmly I am persuaded of its legality. Could you not in the way of conversation with some of the sound lawyers of New York, find what would be their *prima facie* opinion, and if encouraged by that, we may take the opinion of the Attorney General, and

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others. The questions to be solved are,—first: To what place should the valuation refer? and second: Would too high a valuation render the bond null in law? On the first, I observe that the law says that bond shall be given in double the value, etc., without saying whether its value *here*, or at the *place of sale*, is meant; that, generally speaking, its value *here* would be understood; but that whenever the words of a law will bear two meanings, one of which will give effect to the law, and the other will defeat it, the former must be supposed to have been intended by the Legislature, because they could not intend that meaning, which would defeat their intention, in passing that law; and in a statute, as in a will, the intention of the party is to be sought after. On the second point we would ask, who is to value the cargo on which the bond is to be taken? Certainly the collector, either by himself or his agents. When the bond is put in suit it must be recovered. Neither judge nor jury can go into the question of the value of the cargo. If anybody could, it would be the chancellor; but his maxim is never to lend his power in support of fraud or wrong. The common law could only give a remedy on an action for damages, as, for instance, if a collector, by requiring too large security, prevents a party from clearing out, damages might be recovered. But in the case in question, the consent of the party would take away the error, and besides, as the voyage takes place, no damages for preventing it can be recovered. These are gen-

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eral considerations to be brought into view in such a conversation, which, indeed would recur to every lawyer who turned his mind to the subject at all. It would be a most important construction for the relief of the honest merchant, to whom the amount of bond is important, and to us, also, in the execution of the law; and I think its legality far more defensible than that of limiting the provisions to one-eighth of the cargo. My situation in the country gives me no opportunity to consult lawyers of the first order. Should such occur, however, I will avail myself of them.

I salute you affectionately.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, July 29, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—The passport for the Leonidas goes by this post, to the collector of Norfolk. I return you Jarvis', Hackley's, and Montgomery's letters, and send you Hull's, Hunt's, Clarke's, and Mr. Short's, for perusal, and to be returned. On this last, the following questions arise: When exactly shall the next vessel go? Whence? Is not the secrecy of the mission essential? Is it not the very ground of sending it while the Senate is not sitting, in order that it may be kept secret? I doubt the expediency of sending one of our regular armed vessels. If we do, she should go to Petersburg direct.

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And yet may there not be advantage in conferences between S. and A.? I have signed the commission and letter of credence, and now enclose them. Yet I must say I think the latter is very questionable indeed, in point of propriety. It says that the Minister is to *reside* near his person; but whether we should establish it at once into a permanent legation is much to be doubted, and especially in a recess of the Senate. I should think it better to express purposes something like the following: "to bear to your Imperial Majesty the assurances of the sincere friendship of the United States, and of their desire to maintain with your Majesty and your subjects the strictest relations of intercourse and commerce; to explain to your Majesty the position of the United States, and the considerations flowing from that which should keep them aloof from the contests of Europe; to assure your Majesty of their desire to observe a faithful and impartial neutrality, if not forced from that line by the wrongs of the belligerents; and to express their reliance that they will be befriended in these endeavors by your Majesty's powerful influence and friendship towards these States." This is hasty,—it is too long, and neither the expressions nor thoughts sufficiently accurate; but something of this kind, more concise and correct, may be formed, leaving the permanency of the mission still in our power.

There is no doubt but that the transaction at New Orleans, between Ortega and the British officer with

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the prize sloop Guadaloupe, has been a mere fraud, to evade our regulation against the sale of prizes in our harbors; and his insolent letter intended merely to cover the fraud. His ready abandonment of the vessel, and Ortega's resumption of her, are clear proofs. Should not, or could not, process be ordered against Ortega and the vessel? I think a copy of Reeve's letter to Governor Claiborne, and of the proceedings of the court, might be sent to Mr. Erskine, with proper observations on this double outrage, and an intimation that the habitual insolence of their officers may force us to refuse them an asylum, even when seeking it in real distress, if the boon is to be abused as it has been by this insolent and dishonest officer. And as it is very possible the rascal may push his impostures to the making complaint to his government, this step with Mr. Erskine may anticipate it.

I salute you with sincere and constant affection.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR (HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 5, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter from the Pathkiller and others of the Cherokees, the object of which I do not precisely see. I suppose they are of Van's party. The sentiments are unquestionably those of a white man.

Sibley's letters present a disagreeable view. It

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will be troublesome if we are once compelled to use acts of force against those people. It is the more difficult as we should have to pursue them into the country beyond the Sabine, on which an understanding with the Spaniards would be necessary. But what is the meaning of our not pursuing deserters over the Rio Hondo? I thought we had so far settled that matter, as that it was understood by the Spaniards that until a final settlement of boundary, the Sabine was to be that to which each was to exercise jurisdiction. On the same principles ought we not immediately to suppress this new appointment of a Spanish Alcalde at Bayou Pierre? I ask this for information, because I do not precisely recollect what we finally intended as to Bayou Pierre, and I have not the papers here. I suppose the trial and punishment of the guilty Alabamas, and Sibley's reclamations with the tribe for reparation, will give us time till we meet to consider what is to be done. Has any and what step been taken for the recovery of Pike's men?

Governor Lewis' letter offers something more serious. The only information I have on the subject, is his letter to Governor Harrison in a newspaper, which I cut out and enclose you. The retirement of White Hairs to St. Louis is strong proof that the case is serious. As they are at war with all nations, and in order to protect them we have been endangering our peace and friendship with the other nation, would not our best course be to inform all those

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nations that, however desirous we have been of promoting peace among them, and however earnest our endeavors have been to restore friendship between them and the Osages particularly, we have found it impossible to bring that nation to a just and peaceable conduct towards others? That therefore we withdraw ourselves from before them, and leave them to be freely attacked and destroyed by all those who have cause of war against them? Would such a written message from me to the nations at war with them, be advisable? particularly to the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, and such *northern* tribes as are at war with them. I do not recollect those of the latter description. Would it not be advisable to aid their war parties with provisions, and ammunition, and the repairs of their arms at our posts? Will it be necessary to authorize expeditions of militia, or only permit volunteers to join the Indian parties? or shall we leave what respects Militia to Governor Lewis? We shall certainly receive further information soon, but in the meantime I have thought we should turn it in our minds, and interchange ideas on the subject. I shall therefore be glad to hear from you on it. I salute you with constant affection and respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 6, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—A complaint has come to me indirectly on the part of the Cadets at West Point, that the promotions in their corps are made on other principles than those of seniority or merit. They do not charge Colonel Williams with an unjust selection by himself, but with leaving the selection to his lieutenant, whose declaration that it was so left to him, they say can be proved. It is stated particularly that a young man from the country, uneducated, and who had been with the corps but three months, and had acquired little there, was lately made an ensign to the prejudice of much superior qualifications. His name was mentioned to me but I have forgotten it. Justice to the officers forbids us to give credit to such imputations till proved; but justice to the corps requires us so far to attend to them as to make them the subject of inquiry; and I presume this was the object of the communication to me. I now mention it to you, because in returning through New York you may have an opportunity of inquiring into it. I am much more inclined to impute to the vanity of the lieutenant the declaration he is said to have made, than to suppose Colonel Williams has really delegated so important a trust to him. I salute you with constant affection.

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TO MESSRS. KERR, MOORE, AND WILLIAMS, COMMISSIONERS OF THE WESTERN ROAD.

MONTICELLO, August 6, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,—It has been represented to me on behalf of the inhabitants of the town of Washington in Pennsylvania, that by a survey made at their expense, it is found that the western road, if carried through their town, to Wheeling, would be but a mile longer, would pass through better ground, and be made at less expense; and if carried to Short Creek, instead of Wheeling, the difference of distance would still be less. The principal object of this road is a communication directly westwardly. If, however, inconsiderable deflections from this course will benefit particular places, and better accommodate travellers, these are circumstances to be taken into consideration. I have therefore to desire that, having a regard to the funds which remain, you make as good an examination as they will admit, of the best route through Washington to Wheeling, and also to Short Creek or any other point on the river, offering a more advantageous route towards Chillicothe and Cincinnati, and that you report to me the material facts, with your opinions for consideration. I salute you with respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 6, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—On the subject of the western road, our first error was the admitting a deviation to Brownsville, and thus suffering a first encroachment on its principle. This is made a *point d'appui* to force a second, and I am told a third holds itself in reserve, so that a few towns in that quarter seem to consider all this expense as undertaken merely for their benefit. I should have listened to these solicitations with more patience, had it not been for the unworthy motives presented to influence me by some of those interested. Sometimes an opposition by force was held up, sometimes electioneering effects, as if I were to barter away, on such motives, a public trust committed to me for a different object. It seems, however, that our first error having made Brownsville, and no longer Cumberland, the point of departure, we must now go no further back in examining the claim of Washington. I have therefore written to the commissioners, the letter of which I enclose you a copy. The time saved by sending it to them direct, may be important, as they may be near their return. I am doubtful whether they have money enough left for a thorough examination. If they have, their report will enable us to decide on this second deflection. But what will Wheeling say if we take the road from it, to give it to Washington?

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I do not know its size or importance, nor whether some obstacles to navigation may not oppose our crossing at a higher place. I salute you with constant affection.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 9, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of July 27th is received. It confirms the accounts we receive from others that the infractions of the embargo in Maine and Massachusetts are open. I have removed Pope, of New Bedford, for worse than negligence. The collector of Sullivan is on the totter. The tories of Boston openly threaten insurrection if their importation of flour is stopped. The next post will stop it. I fear your Governor is not up to the tone of these parricides, and I hope, on the first symptom of an open opposition of the law by force, you will fly to the scene and aid in suppressing any commotion.

I enclose you the letter of Captain Dillard, recommending Walter Bourke for appointment. I know nothing of the writers of any of the letters except Thore, Jones, and Thweat, who are good men. I like Meigs' scheme with the Cherokees, and would wish it success. But will Congress give such a sum of money? The message of the Creek Chief is so far satisfactory, that I think we should give them time. Could we engage them to assist us in destroying the

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guilty banditti? The letter enclosed from Cuthbert to Mr. Madison, on the means of taking Quebec, is worthy notice, and I wish you could, before your return, have an interview with him. Your office, and receipt of the letter from me, will give confidence to his communications. We have letters from Mr. Pinckney to May 30, but not one word interesting. Present me respectfully to Mrs. Dearborn, and accept my affectionate salutations.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 9, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you, for your information, letters from General Dearborn, P. D. Sargent, and Elisha Tracey, on the infractions of the embargo, and their ideas on the means of remedy.

I pass them through the hands of the Secretary of the Navy, with a request that he will, in concert with you, give all the aid for the enforcement of the law which his department can afford. I think the conduct of Jordan, at Sullivan, should be inquired into, with a view to his removal if found either undisposed or negligent. Indeed, the distance of his residence, if it be fact, renders it impossible he should even sufficiently superintend the due execution of the duties of his office.

We have letters from Mr. Pinckney of the 30th of May, but containing not one interesting word. If

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England should be disposed to continue peace with us, and Spain gives to Bonaparte the occupation she promises, will not the interval be favorable for our reprisals on the Floridas for the indemnifications withheld? Before the meeting of Congress we shall see further. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (JACOB CROWNINSHIELD).

MONTICELLO, August 9, 1808.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * * *

I have some apprehension the tories of Boston, etc., with so poor a head of a Governor, may attempt to give us trouble. I have requested General Dearborn to be on the alert, and fly to the spot where any open and forcible opposition shall be commenced, and to crush it in embryo. I am not afraid but that there is sound matter enough in Massachusetts to prevent an opposition of the laws by force. I am glad to see that Spain is likely to give Bonaparte employment. *Tant mieux pour nous.* Accept affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, August 11, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your letters of July 29th and August 5th, came to hand yesterday, and I now return you those of Wynne, Wolsey, Quincy, Otis, Lincoln, and

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Dearborn. This embargo law is certainly the most embarrassing one we have ever had to execute. I did not expect a crop of so sudden and rank growth of fraud and open opposition by force could have grown up in the United States. I am satisfied with you that if orders and decrees are not repealed, and a continuance of the embargo is preferred to war, (which sentiment is universal here,) Congress must legalize all *means* which may be necessary to obtain its *end*. Mr. Smith, in enclosing to me General Dearborn's and Lincoln's letters, informs me that immediately on receiving them he gave the necessary orders to the Chesapeake, the Wasp and Argus. Still I shall pass this letter and those it encloses, through his hands for information. I am clearly of opinion this law ought to be enforced at any expense, *which may not exceed our appropriation*. I approve of the instructions to General Lincoln, for selling the revenue cutter there and buying another, and also of what you propose at New London and Portsmouth, and generally I wish you to do as to the revenue cutters what you shall think best, without delaying it to hear from me. You possess the details so much better than I do, and are so much nearer the principal scenes, that my approbation can be but matter of form. As to ordering out militia, you know the difficulty without another proclamation. I advise Mr. Madison to inform General Turreau that the vessels we allow to the foreign ministers are only in the character of trans-

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ports, and that they cannot be allowed but where the number of persons bears the proportion to the vessel which is usual with transports. You will see by my last that on learning the situation of affairs in Spain, it had occurred to me that it might produce a favorable occasion of doing ourselves justice in the south. We must certainly so dispose of our southern recruits and armed vessels as to be ready for the occasion. A letter of June 5th from Mr. Pinckney says nothing more than that in a few days he was to have a full conference on our affairs with Mr. Canning. That will doubtless produce us immediately an interesting letter from him. I salute you affectionately.

P. S. I this day direct a commission for General Steele, vice General Shee, deceased.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (JACOB CROWNINSHIELD).

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of July 30th came to hand yesterday. It has consequently loitered somewhere two posts. I am glad to learn the prompt aid you have afforded the Treasury department. To let you further understand the importance of giving all the aid we can, I pass through your hands my letter of this day to Mr. Gallatin, with those it encloses, which I will pray you, after perusal, to seal and put into

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the post-office. In the support of the embargo laws, our only limit should be that of the appropriations of the department. A letter of June 5th from Mr. Pinckney informs us he was to have a free conference with Canning, in a few days. Should England get to rights with us, while Bonaparte is at war with Spain, the moment may be favorable to take possession of our own territory held by Spain, and so much more as may make a proper reprisal for her spoliations. We ought therefore to direct the rendezvous of our southern recruits and gunboats so as to be in proper position for striking the stroke in an instant, when Congress shall will it. I have recommended this to General Dearborn, as I now do to yourself. Mr. Fulton writes to me under a great desire to prepare a decisive experiment of his torpedo at Washington, for the meeting of Congress. This means of harbor-defence has acquired such respectability, from its apparent merit, from the attention shown it by other nations, and from our own experiments at New York, as to entitle it to a full experiment from us. He asks only two workmen for one month from us, which he estimates at $130 only. But should it cost considerably more I should really be for granting it, and would accordingly recommend it to you. This sum is a mere trifle as an encroachment on our appropriation. I salute you with affection and respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of July 27th has been received. I now enclose you the letters of Hawkins, Harrison, Wells, Hull, and Claiborne, received from the War Office, and as I conjecture, not yet seen by you. Indian appearances, both in the northwest and south, are well. Beyond the Mississippi they are not so favorable. I fear Governor Lewis has been too prompt in committing us with the Osages so far as to oblige us to go on. But it is astonishing we get not one word from him. I enclose you letters of Mr. Griff and Maclure, which will explain themselves. A letter of June 5th from Mr. Pinckney, informs us he was to have a free conference with Canning in a few days. Should England make up with us, while Bonaparte continues at war with Spain, a moment may occur when we may without danger of commitment with either France or England seize to our own limits of Louisiana as of right, and the residue of the Floridas as reprisal for spoliations. It is our duty to have an eye to this in rendezvousing and stationing our new recruits and our armed vessels, so as to be ready, if Congress authorizes it, to strike in a moment. I wish you to consider this matter in the orders to the southern recruits, as I have also recommended to the Secretary of the Navy, as to the armed vessels in the South. Indeed, I would ask your

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opinion as to the positions we had better take with a view to this with our armed vessels as well as troops. The force in the neighborhood of Baton Rouge is enough for that. Mobile, Pensacola and St. Augustine, are those we should be preparing for. The enforcing the embargo would furnish a pretext for taking the nearest healthy position to St. Mary's, and on the waters of Tombigbee. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 10th came to hand yesterday, and I return you Fronda's, Tuft's, Soderstrom's, and Turreau's letters. I think it is become necessary to let Turreau understand explicitly that the vessels we permit foreign ministers to send away are merely transports, for the conveyance of such of their subjects as were here at the time of the embargo; that the numbers must be proportioned to the vessels, as is usual with transports; and that all who meant to go away must be presumed to have gone before now,—at any rate, that none will be accommodated after the present vessel. We never can allow one belligerent to buy and fit out vessels here, to be manned with his own people, and probably act against the other. You did not return my answer to Sullivan. But fortunately I have received another

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letter, which will enable me to give the matter an easier turn, and let it down more softly. Should the conference announced in Mr. Pinckney's letter of June 5th, settle friendship between England and us, and Bonaparte continue at war with Spain, a moment may occur favorable, without compromitting us with either France or England, for seizing our own from the Rio Bravo to Perdido, as of right, and the residue of Florida, as a reprisal for spoliations. I have thought it proper to suggest this possibility to General Dearborn and Mr. Smith, and to recommend an eye to it in their rendezvousing and stationing the new southern recruits and gunboats, so that we may strike in a moment when Congress says so. I have appointed General Steele successor to Shee. Mr. and Mrs. Barlow, and Mrs. Blayden, will be here about the 25th. May we hope to see Mrs. Madison and yourself then, or when? I shall go to Bedford about the 10th of September. I salute you with constant affection and respect.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JAMES SULLIVAN.

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1808.

SIR,—Your letter of July 21st has been received some days; that of July 23d not till yesterday. Some accident had probably detained it on the road considerably beyond its regular passage. In the former you mention that you had thought it advisable to continue issuing certificates for the importation of

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flour, until you could hear further from me; and in the latter, that you will be called from the Capital in the fall months, after which it is your desire that the power of issuing certificates may be given to some other, if it is to be continued.

In mine of July 16th I had stated that, during the two months preceding that, your certificates, received at the Treasury, amounted, if I rightly recollect, to about 60,000 barrels of flour, and a proportionable quantity of corn. If this whole quantity had been *bona fide* landed and retained in Massachusetts, I deemed it certain there could not be a real want for a considerable time, and, therefore, desired the issues of certificates might be discontinued. If, on the other hand, a part has been carried to foreign markets, it proves the necessity of restricting reasonably this avenue to abuse. This is my sole object, and not that a real want of a single individual should be one day unsupplied. In this I am certain we shall have the concurrence of all the good citizens of Massachusetts, who are too patriotic and too just to desire, by calling for what is superfluous, to open a door for the frauds of unprincipled individuals who, trampling on the laws, and forcing a commerce shut to all others, are enriching themselves on the sacrifices of their honester fellow citizens;—sacrifices to which these are generally and willingly submitting, as equally necessary whether to avoid or prepare for war.

Still further, however, to secure the State against

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all danger of want, I will request you to continue issuing certificates, in the moderate way proposed in your letter, until your departure from the Capital, as before stated, when I will consider it as discontinued, or make another appointment if necessary. There is less risk of inconvenience in this, as, by a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, of May 20th, the collectors were advised not to detain any vessel, the articles of whose lading were so proportioned as to give no cause of suspicion that they were destined for a foreign market. This mode of supply alone seems to have been sufficient for the other importing States, if we may judge from the little use they have made of the permission to issue certificates.

Should these reasonable precautions be followed, as is surmised in your letter of July 21st, by an artificial scarcity, with a view to promote turbulence of any sort or on any pretext, I trust for an ample security against this danger to the character of my fellow citizens of Massachusetts, which has, I think, been emphatically marked by obedience to law, and a love of order. And I have no doubt that whilst we do our duty, they will support us in it. The laws enacted by the general government, will have made it our duty to have the embargo strictly observed, for the general good; and we are sworn to execute the laws. If clamor ensue, it will be from the few only, who will clamor whatever we do. I shall be happy to receive the estimate promised by

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your Excellency, as it may assist to guide us in the cautions we may find necessary. And here I will beg leave to recall your attention to a mere error of arithmetic in your letter of July 23d. The quantity of flour requisite on the data there given, would be between thirteen and fourteen thousand barrels per month. I beg you to accept my salutations, and assurances of high respect and consideration.

TO ROBERT FULTON.

MONTICELLO, August 15, 1808.

SIR,—Immediately on the receipt of your letter of the 5th, I wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, recommending a compliance with your request of the workmen. Although no public servant could justify the risking the safety of an important seaport, solely on untried means of defence, yet I have great confidence in those proposed by you as additional to the ordinary means. Their small cost, too, in comparison with the object, ought to overrule those rigorous attentions to keep within the limits of our appropriations, which have probably weighed with the Secretary in declining the proposition. You are sensible, too, that harassed as the offices are daily by the visions of unsound heads, even those solid inventions destined to better our condition, feel the effects of being grouped with them. Wishing every success to your experiment, I salute you with esteem and respect.

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TO ISRAEL SMITH.

MONTICELLO, August 15, 1808.

SIR,—I this moment receive your favor of the 12th, with Captain Saunders' letter on the acquisition of a site for a battery at Norfolk. I think that, instead of acceding to the proposition to take the whole three acres at $1,500, it will be better to accept the other alternative of Mr. Thompson, to have the ground valued by proper persons. In this case, too, it should be attempted to restrain the purchase to the half acre, as desired by the Secretary of War, but if the owner insists on selling the whole or none, the whole should be taken rather than let the works of defence be delayed. You will be pleased to give instructions accordingly.

The despatches hitherto received at the War Office, and forwarded to me, I have from time to time sent directly to General Dearborn, on the presumption they had not yet been seen by him. If this is wrong, be so good as to notify me of it. I return you Captain Saunders' letter, and tender you my salutations.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

MONTICELLO, August 15, 1808.

SIR,—I have this day received your Excellency's favor of the 9th instant, and I now return you the papers it enclosed. The case of opposition to the embargo laws on the Canada line, I take to be that

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of distinct combinations of a number of individuals to oppose by force and arms the execution of those laws, for which purpose they go armed, fire upon the public guards, in one instance at least have wounded one dangerously, and rescue property held under these laws. This may not be an insurrection in the popular sense of the word, but being arrayed in war-like manner, actually committing acts of war, and persevering systematically in defiance of the public authority, brings it so fully within the legal definition of an insurrection, that I should not hesitate to issue a proclamation, were I not restrained by motives of which your Excellency seems to be apprised. But as by the laws of New York an insurrection can be acted on without a previous proclamation, I should conceive it perfectly correct to act on it as such, and I cannot doubt it would be approved by every good citizen. Should you think proper to do so, I will undertake that the necessary detachments of militia called out in support of the laws, shall be considered as in the service of the United States, and at their expense. And as it has been intimated to me that you would probably take the trouble of going to the spot yourself, I will refer to your discretion the measures to be taken, and the numbers to be called out at different places, only saying, as duty requires me to fix some limit, that the whole must not exceed five hundred men without further consulting me. Should you be willing to take the trouble of going to the place, you will render

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a great public service, as I am persuaded your presence there will be such a manifestation of the public determination to support the authority of the laws, as will probably deter the insurgents from pursuing their course. I think it so important in example to crush these audacious proceedings, and to make the offenders feel the consequences of individuals daring to oppose a law by force, that no effort should be spared to compass this object. As promptitude is requisite, and the delay of consulting me on details at this distance might defeat our views, I would rather, where you entertain doubts, that you would satisfy yourself by conference with the Secretary of the Treasury, who is with you, and to whom our general views are familiar. I salute you with esteem and high respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 15, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 6th and 9th, are just now received, as well as a letter from Governor Tompkins on the subject of aiding the revenue officers on the Canada line with militia. I refer you on this subject to my answer to him, and pray you to encourage strongly his going to the spot himself, and acting according to the urgencies which will present themselves there. Should you have satisfactory evidence of either *mala fides* or negli-

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gence in Pease, he shall be removed without ceremony. I do not know the residence of Greene of Massachusetts. The opinion you have given in the case stated by Ellery is certainly correct. No civil officer of the States can take cognizance of a federal case. Considering our determination to let no more vessels go so far as the Cape of Good Hope, I see nothing in the case of the brig Resolution, Craycroft, to justify a change of the rule, and therefore cannot consent to a vessel's being sent there. The case of the Chinese Mandarin is so entirely distinct, that it can give no ground for this claim. The opportunity hoped from that, of making known through one of its own characters of note, our nation, our circumstances and character, and of letting that government understand at length the difference between us and the English, and separate us in its policy, rendered that measure a diplomatic one in my view, and likely to bring lasting advantage to our merchants and commerce with that country.

I enclose you the rough draught of a letter I have written to Governor Sullivan, in answer to two of his. It was done on consultation with Mr. Madison.

I informed you in mine of the 11th that I had directed a commission for General Steele as successor to Shee. This was certainly according to what had been agreed upon at Washington, the event of Shee's death being then foreseen and made the subject of consultation with yourself, Mr. Rodney, and, I believe, Mr. Madison. The call for the militia from

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all the States having been agreed on in April, I have taken for granted it was going on. I will look to it, as also to the fortifications of New York. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

MONTICELLO, August 16, 1808.

SIR,—General Dearborn being on a visit to the province of Maine, your letter to him (the date not recollected) was sent to me from his office, and, after perusal, was forwarded to him. As the case of the five Alabamas, under prosecution for the murder of a white man, may not admit delay, if a conviction takes place, I have thought it necessary to recommend to you in that case to select the leader, or most guilty, for execution, and to reprieve the others till a copy of the judgment can be forwarded, and a pardon sent you; in the meantime letting them return to their friends, with whom you will of course take just merit for this clemency, our wish being merely to make them sensible by the just punishment of one, that our citizens are not to be murdered or robbed with impunity.

I have learnt with real mortification that the engineers successively appointed, have withdrawn from their undertaking to carry on the defensive works of New Orleans. It is more regretted as capable persons in that line are more difficult to be got, and it takes so long for the information to come here, and

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the place to be supplied. Two other persons applied to here have declined going. Whether General Dearborn has at length been able to engage one I am not informed. I fear that these disappointments will lose us the season in a work which more than any other it was my desire to have had completed this year. Certainly these losses of time shall be shortened by us as far as is in our power. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 19, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of August 3d, which ought to have been here on the 8th, was not received till yesterday. It has loitered somewhere, therefore, ten days, during which three mails have been received. I proceed to its contents.

Somes's case. The rule agreed to at our meeting of June 30th was general, that no permissions should be granted for Europe, Asia, or Africa, and there is nothing in Somes's case to entitle it to exemption from the rule, more than will be found in every case that shall occur; as a precedent then, it would be a repeal of the rule, and in fact of the embargo law. He might have sent his proofs to Malta through England, either by the British packets or by our avisos. If he has not done it, and cannot now do it, it is his fault; the permission therefore must be refused.

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Coquerel's case. 1. The question whether he had a right to expect a permit is against him. None in writing was given; no note or memorandum on any paper is found warranting the fact, nor is there even any trace of it in the memory of the collector. On what evidence then does it rest? Merely on the words of the owner and captain that the language of the collector conveyed an impression on them that they were to have a permit; but we well know where this sort of evidence would land us.

2d. But suppose we had had a positive or written permission, why was it not used? Could it be believed to be good for this year, next year, or ten years hence? The reason of the thing must have shown to every one that it was good *under existing circumstances* only, and might become null if not used till these were changed. But the written notification of August 1st, giving a final day, annuls all permits after that day; and not a single circumstance is stated which entitles them to a prolongation of the time, which would not entitle every other, and consequently repeal the limitation of time and the law. I see no ground, therefore, for relieving him from the operation of the rule.

* * * * * * * * *

I enclose you a letter from a Mr. Ithomel to the Secretary of the Navy. I know not who he is, perhaps an officer of the navy. This is the second letter he has written, expressing his belief that there is ground to apprehend insurgency in Massachusetts.

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Neither do I know his politics, which might also be a key to his apprehensions. That the federalists may attempt insurrection is possible, and also that the Governor would sink before it. But the republican part of the State, and that portion of the federalists who approve the embargo in their judgments, and at any rate would not court mob-law, would crush it in embryo. I have some time ago written to General Dearborn to be on the alert on such an occasion, and to take direction of the public authority on the spot. Such an incident will rally the whole body of republicans of every shade to a single point, —that of supporting the public authority. Be so good as to return the letter to Mr. Smith. He informs me he has left to yourself and Commander Rogers to order whatever gunboats you think can be spared from New York to aid the embargo law. If enough be left there or near there, to preserve order in the harbor, or to drive out a single ship of force, it would be sufficient in the present tranquil state of things.

The principle of our indulgence of vessels to foreign ministers was, that it was fair to let them send away all their subjects caught here by the embargo, and who had no other means of getting away.

General Turreau says there are fifteen hundred French sailors,—deserters, here, many of whom wish to go home. I have desired Mr. Madison to inform him that the tonnage permitted must be proportioned to the numbers, according to the rules

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in transport service. On this ground, I do not know that we can do wrong. We have nothing yet from Pinckney or Armstrong. But the first letter from the former must be so. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR (HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter of July 1st, from Governor Lewis, received from the War Office by the last post. It presents a full, and not a pleasant, view of our Indian affairs west of the Mississippi. As the punishment of the Osages has been thought necessary, the means employed appear judicious. First, to draw off the friendly part of the nation, and then, withdrawing the protection of the United States, leave the other tribes free to take their own satisfaction of them for their own wrongs. I think we may go further, without actually joining in the attack. The greatest obstacle to the Indians acting in large bodies, being the difficulty of getting provisions, we might supply them, and ammunition also, if necessary. I hope the Governor will be able to settle with the Sacs and Foxes without war, to which, however, he seems too much committed. If we had gone to war for every hunter or trader killed, and murderer refused, we should have had general and constant war. The process to be followed, in my

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opinion, when a murder has been committed, is first to demand the murderer, and not regarding a first refusal to deliver, give time and press it. If perseveringly refused, recall all traders, and interdict commerce with them, until he be delivered. I believe this would rarely fail in producing the effect desired; and we have seen that, by steadily following this line, the tribes become satisfied of our moderation, justice, and friendship to them, and become firmly attached to us. The want of time to produce these dispositions in the Indians west of the Mississippi, has been the cause of the Kanzas, the Republican, the Great and the Wolf Panis, the Matas, and Poncaras, adhering to the Spanish interest against us. But if we use forbearance, and open commerce for them, they will come to, and give us time to attach them to us. In the meantime, to secure our frontiers against their hostility, I would allow Governor Lewis the three companies of spies, and military stores he desires. We are so distant, and he so well acquainted with the business, that it is safest for our citizens there and for ourselves, after enjoining him to pursue our principles, to permit him to select the means. The factories proposed on the Missouri and Mississippi, as soon as they can be in activity, will have more effect than as many armies. It is on their interests we must rely for their friendship, and not on their fears. With the establishment of these factories, we must prohibit the British from appearing westward of the Mississippi, and southward of

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logarithm degree; we must break up all their factories on this side the Mississippi, west of Lake Michigan; not permit them to send out individual traders to the Indian towns, but require all their commerce to be carried on at their factories,—putting our own commerce under the same regulations, which will take away all ground of complaint. In like manner, I think well of Governor Lewis' proposition to carry on all our commerce west of the Mississippi, at fixed points; licensing none but stationary traders residing at these points; and obliging the Indians to come to the commerce, instead of sending it to them. Having taken this general view of the subject, which I know is nearly conformable to your own, I leave to yourself the detailed answer to Governor Lewis, and salute you with constant affection and respect.

TO GOVERNOR MERIWETHER LEWIS.

MONTICELLO, August 21, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter to General Dearborn, of July 1st, was not received at the War Office till a few days ago, was forwarded to me, and after perusal sent on to General Dearborn, at present in Maine. As his official answer will be late in getting to you, I have thought it best, in the meantime, to communicate to yourself, directly, ideas in conformity with those I have expressed to him, and with the principles on which we have conducted Indian affairs. I regret

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that it has been found necessary to come to open rupture with the Osages, but, being so, I approve of the course you have pursued,—that of drawing off the friendly part of the nation,—withdrawing from the rest the protection of the United States, and permitting the other nations to take their own satisfaction for the wrongs they complain of. I have stated to General Dearborn that I think we may go further, and as the principal obstacle to the Indians acting in large bodies, is the want of provisions, we might supply that want, and ammunition also, if they need it. With the Sacs and Foxes I hope you will be able to settle amicably, as nothing ought more to be avoided than the embarking ourselves in a system of military coercion on the Indians. If we do this, we shall have general and perpetual war. When a murder has been committed on one of our stragglers, the murderer should be demanded. If not delivered, give time, and still press the demand. We find it difficult, with our regular government, to take and punish a murderer of an Indian. Indeed, I believe we have never been able to do it in a single instance. They have their difficulties also, and require time. In fact, it is a case where indulgence on both sides is just and necessary, to prevent the two nations from being perpetually committed in war, by the acts of the most vagabond and ungovernable of their members. When the refusal to deliver the murderer is permanent, and proceeds from the want of will, and not of ability, we should then interdict all trade and

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intercourse with them till they give us complete satisfaction. Commerce is the great engine by which we are to coerce them, and not war. I know this will be less effectual on this side the Mississippi, where they can have recourse to the British; but this will not be a long-lived evil. By this forbearing conduct towards the Mississippian Indians for seven years past, they are become satisfied of our justice and moderation towards them, that we have no desire of injuring them, but, on the contrary, of doing them all the good offices we can, and they are become sincerely attached to us; and this disposition, beginning with the nearest, has spread and is spreading itself to the more remote, as fast as they have opportunities of understanding our conduct. The Sacs and Foxes, being distant, have not yet come over to us. But they are on the balance. Those on this side the Mississippi, will soon be entirely with us, if we pursue our course steadily. The Osages, Kanzas, the Republican, Great and Wolf Panis, Matas, Poncaras, etc., who are inclined to the Spaniards, have not yet had time to know our dispositions. But if we use forbearance, and open commerce with them, they will come to, and give us time to attach them to us. In the meantime, to secure our frontiers, I have expressed myself to General Dearborn in favor of the three companies of spies, and the military supplies you ask for. So, also, in the having established factories, at which all the traders shall be stationary, allowing none to be itinerant, further than indis-

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pensable circumstances shall require. As soon as our factories on the Missouri and Mississippi can be in activity, they will have more powerful effects than so many armies. With respect to the British, we shall take effectual steps to put an immediate stop to their crossing the Mississippi, by the severest measures. And I have proposed to General Dearborn to break up all their factories within our limits on this side the Mississippi, to let them have them only at fixed points, and suppress all itinerant traders of theirs, as well as our own. They have, by treaty, only an equal right of commerce with ourselves, the regulations of which on our side of the line belong to us, as that on their side belongs to them. All that can be required is that these regulations be equal. These are the general views which, on the occasion of your letter, I have expressed to General Dearborn. I reserve myself for consultation with him, and shall be very glad to receive your sentiments also on the several parts of them, after which we may decide on the modifications which may be approved. In the meantime you will probably receive from him an answer to your letter, till which this communication of my sentiments may be of some aid in determining your own course of proceeding.

Your friends here are all well, except Colonel Lewis, who has declined very rapidly the last few months. He scarcely walks about now, and never beyond his yard. We can never lose a better man. I salute you with affection and respect.

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TO THE HONORABLE LEVI LINCOLN.

MONTICELLO, August 22, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—You are not unapprised that in order to check the evasions of the embargo laws effected under color of the coasting trade, we found it necessary to prevent the transportation of flour coastwise, except to the States not making enough for their own consumption, and that to place the supplies of these States under some check, a discretionary power was given to the Governors to give licenses to the amount of what they deemed the necessary importation. By a subsequent regulation, the collectors were advised not to detain suspicious vessels, the articles of whose cargoes were so proportioned as not to excite suspicion of fraudulent intentions; and particularly where not more than one-eighth in value was provisions. This last regulation has operated so well that in the other importing States (Massachusetts excepted) little or no use has been made of the power of giving special licenses. But the licenses of Massachusetts, in the first two months, having amounted to 60,000 barrels of flour, the quantity was so much beyond their consumption, that it was suspected the licenses were fraudulently perverted to cover exportation. I therefore requested Governor Sullivan to discontinue issuing them, as, if the whole quantity was landed and retained in the State, it could not want for some time, and if exported, it showed we ought to guard that

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avenue to fraud. He apprised me, however, by letter, of circumstances which induced him to continue a moderated issue of licenses till he could hear from me, and I approved of his doing so till he should leave the capital, which he informed me he should do in the fall, when, if the power were to be continued, he wished it to be put into other hands, as his absence would prevent his exercising it. On this ground the matter now rests. He supposes that about ninety thousand persons in the State subsist on imported flour, which, at a pound a day, would require between thirteen and fourteen thousand barrels a month. Certainly it is not my wish that the want of a single individual should be unsupplied a single day; and I presume the well-affected citizens of Massachusetts would not wish, by importing a superfluous stock, to open a door for defeating a law judged by the national authorities necessary for the public good, and cheerfully submitted to elsewhere in the union. The question is, whether, after so great importations, the permission to all coasting vessels to take one-eighth in provisions will not supply the State? On this subject I ask your friendly information. If it will not, then I must request your undertaking to issue licenses, on the departure of the Governor, to such characters as you may not suspect would make a fraudulent use of them. The power will, with propriety, devolve on you, on the Governor's declining it. You stand next in the confidence of the State, and certainly second to no

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one in my confidence. I will therefore ask from you a full communication of facts, and your opinions on this subject, with an entire disposition on my part to do whatever, consistently with my duty, I can do to obviate difficulties. I pray you to be assured of my constant esteem and attachment.

TO GOVERNOR MERIWETHER LEWIS.

MONTICELLO, August 24, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—My letter of August 21st being gone to the post-office, I write this as a supplement, which will be in time to go by the same post. Isham Lewis arrived here last night and tells me he was with you at St. Louis about the second week in July, and consequently, after your letter of the 1st of that month, that four Iowas had been delivered up to you as guilty of the murder which had been charged to the Sacs and Foxes, and that you supposed three of them would be hung. It is this latter matter which induces me to write again.

As there was but one white murdered by them, I should be averse to the execution of more than one of them, selecting the most guilty and worst character. Nothing but extreme criminality should induce the execution of a second, and nothing beyond that. Besides their idea that justice allows only man for man, that all beyond that is new aggression, which must be expiated by a new sacrifice of an equivalent number of our people, it is our great object

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to impress them with a firm persuasion that all our dispositions towards them are fatherly; that if we take man for man, it is not from a thirst for blood or revenge, but as the smallest measure necessary to correct the evil, and that though all concerned are guilty, and have forfeited their lives by our usages, we do not wish to spill their blood as long as there can be a hope of their future good conduct. We may make a merit of restoring the others to their friends and their nation, and furnish a motive for obtaining a sincere attachment. There is the more reason for this moderation, as we know we cannot punish any murder which shall be committed by us on them. Even if the murderer can be taken, our juries have never yet convicted the murderer of an Indian. Should these Indians be convicted, I would wish you to deliver up to their friends at once, those whom you select for pardon, and not to detain them in confinement until a pardon can be actually sent you. That shall be forwarded to you as soon as you shall send me a copy of the judgment on which it shall be founded.

I am uneasy hearing nothing from you about the Mandan chief, nor the measures for restoring him to his country. That is an object which presses on our justice and our honor, and further than that I suppose a severe punishment of the Ricaras indispensable, taking for it our own time and convenience. My letter from Washington asked your opinions on this subject. I repeat my salutations of affection and respect.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—In my letter of the 15th I informed you that I had authorized Governor Tompkins to order out such aids of militia on Lake Ontario and the Canada line, as he should find necessary to enforce the embargo, not exceeding five hundred, he proposing to repair thither himself to select trusty persons. I am now to request that you will have measures taken for their pay, subsistence, and whatever else is requisite.

I enclose you applications for military command in favor of John B. Livingston and John Murphy, a letter from Governor Hull, and one from Howell Hern, who seems to have just cause of complaint against Captain Armstead; and I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
(ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 26, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 17th was received only yesterday. It ought to have come by the preceding post. I mention the delay of your letters, as you may perhaps know how it happens.

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Smissaert's Case.

The exportation of these doits was refused before, and I see no reason for a change of opinion. They are understood to be private property. If they were public, we might on a principle of comity permit their exportation in their own or any other foreign vessel. But comity does not require us to send our ships and seamen into the mouths of captors. I am not sufficiently informed of the conduct of the Batavian government towards our vessels at present, to derive any motive from that to affect the present case.

Kettridge's letter, with yours to him and Blake, and Burt's letter, are now returned. I am in hopes the successes of our armed vessels will check the evasions of the embargo. I have received no letter from Governor Tompkins since that of the 9th, my answer to which, of the 15th, contained assurances which would fully meet any case of militia ordered out by him under five hundred, as to our answering the expense. I will write immediately to General Dearborn to provide pay and subsistence, and will send it open to his chief clerk at Washington, with instructions to him to take order in it immediately, to prevent the delay from General Dearborn's absence. I will also write to General Wilkinson to forward the recruits of New York to the positions you have named. Your circular for the North Carolina navigation, and the papers concerning the

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Mandarin, are not yet received. Astor's publication in the Aurora has sufficiently quieted me on that head. * * * * * * * *

P. S. No letter yet from Mr. Pinckney.

TO CAPTAIN M'GREGOR.

MONTICELLO, August 26, 1808.

SIR,—In answer to the petition which you delivered me from the officers of merchant vessels belonging to Philadelphia, I must premise my sincere regret at the sacrifices which our fellow citizens generally, and the petitioners in particular, have been obliged to meet by the circumstances of the times. We live in an age of affliction, to which the history of nations presents no parallel. We have for years been looking on Europe covered with blood and violence, and seen rapine spreading itself over the ocean: On this element it has reached us, and at length in so serious a degree, that the Legislature of the nation has thought it necessary to withdraw our citizens and property from it, either to avoid, or to prepare for engaging in the general contest. But for this timely precaution, the petitioners and their property might now have been in the hands of spoilers, who have laid aside all regard to moral right. Withdrawing from the greater evil, a lesser one has been necessarily encountered. And certainly, could the Legislature have made provision against this also, I should have

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had great pleasure as the instrument of its execution, but it was impracticable, by any general and just rules, to prescribe in every case the best resource against the inconveniences of this new situation. The difficulties of the crisis will certainly fall with greater pressure on some descriptions of citizens than on others; and on none perhaps with greater than our seafaring brethren. Should any means of alleviation occur within the range of my duties, I shall with certainty advert to the situation of the petitioners, and, in availing the nation of their services, aid them with a substitute for their former occupations. I salute them and yourself with sentiments of sincere regard.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, August 27, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—In my letter of yesterday I omitted to enclose that of Hern, which I now do. I add to it a newspaper from St. Louis, in which is an account of the surrender of some Indian murderers. This paper says there were three or four whites murdered. But I think Governor Lewis' letter says but one. On that ground I wrote to him to recommend, if they should be convicted, to suffer only one to be executed, unless there was strong reason for doing more, and to deliver up the rest to their friends, as a proof of our friendship and desire not to injure

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them. Mr. Woolsey, our Collector on Champlain, has lately been to Montreal. He took much pains to find out the British strength in that quarter, and the following is what, he says, we may rely on:

At Montreal	450
Chambly	80
St John's	40
Odle Town	14
Isle Aux Noix	10
	594

He adds, that 10,000 men will take the whole country to within a league of Quebec. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

UNITED STATES, August 29, 1808.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND AND EMPEROR,—Desirous of promoting useful intercourse and good understanding between your Majesty's subjects and the citizens of the United States, and especially to cultivate the friendship of your Majesty, I have appointed William Short, one of our distinguished citizens, to be in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of theUnited States, the bearer to you of assurances of their sincere friendship, and of their desire to maintain with your Majesty and your subjects the strictest relations of amity and commerce: he will explain to your Majesty the peculiar position of these States, sepa-

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rated by a wide ocean from the powers of Europe, with interests and pursuits distinct from theirs, and consequently without the motives or the appetites for taking part in the associations or oppositions which a different system of interests produces among them; he is charged to assure your Majesty more particularly of our purpose to observe a faithful neutrality towards the contending powers, in the war to which your Majesty is a party, rendering to all the services and courtesies of friendship, and praying for the re-establishment of peace and right among them; and we entertain an entire confidence that this just and faithful conduct on the part of the United States will strengthen the friendly dispositions you have manifested towards them, and be a fresh motive with so just and magnanimous a sovereign to enforce, by the high influence of your example, the respect due to the character and the rights of a peaceable nation. I beseech you, great and good friend and Emperor, to give entire credence to whatever he shall say to you on the part of these States, and most of all when he shall assure you of their cordial esteem and respect for your Majesty's person and character, praying God always to have you in his safe and holy keeping.

TO GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

MONTICELLO, August 30, 1808.

DEAR GENERAL,—The absence of General Dearborn and his great distance render it necessary to

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recommend a measure which should regularly go from him, but will not admit of that delay. The armed resistance to the embargo laws on the Canada line induced us at an early period to determine that the new recruits of the northern States should be rendezvoused there, and I presume you received such instructions from General Dearborn. In the meantime we have been obliged to make several detachments of militia to points on that line. This is irksome to them, expensive, troublesome, and less efficacious. Understanding that there are three companies of new recruits filled, or nearly filled, at New York, I must pray you to order these, and indeed all the recruits of the State of New York, to Sackett's Harbor, Oswegatchie, and Plattsburgh, in equal proportions to each, in order to support the collectors in the execution of their duties, and this without any avoidable delay, giving notice to Governor Tompkins of their march and time of probable arrival at their destination, that he may give corresponding orders respecting the relief of the militia. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, August 30, 1808.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * *

Mr. Madison and myself on repeated consultations, (and some of the other members of the executive

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expressed the same opinion before they left Washington,) have concluded that the mission to Petersburgh should not be delayed. Being special, and not permanent, the waiting the meeting of the Senate is less important, and, if we waited, that it could not go till spring, and we know not what this summer and the ensuing winter may produce. We think secrecy also important, and that the mission should be as little known as possible, till it is in Petersburgh, which could not be, if known to the Senate. Mr. Short goes therefore in the aviso from Philadelphia, to be engaged for September 15th. He is peculiarly distressed by sickness at sea, and of course more so the smaller the vessel. I think, therefore, the occasion justifies the enlargement of our vessel somewhat beyond what might be necessary for a mere aviso. The season, too, by the time of her return, might render it desirable for safety, which circumstance may be mentioned in your instructions to the collector, to prevent his suspicions of the real ground. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, September 5, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—The last post brought me the counter addresses now enclosed. That from Ipswich is signed by about forty persons; the town meeting which voted the petition consisted of thirty. There

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are 500 voters in the place. The counter address of Boston has 700 signatures. The town meeting voting the petition is said to have consisted of 500. In the draught of an answer enclosed, I have taken the occasion of making some supplementary observations which could not with propriety have been inserted in the answers to the petitions. The object is that the two together may present to our own people the strongest points in favor of the embargo in a short and clear view. An eye is also kept on foreign nations, in some of the observations. Be so good as to make it what it should be, and return it by the first post. * * * * * * *

I salute you with constant and sincere affection.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR (HENRY DEARBORN).

MONTICELLO, September 5, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of August 18th is this moment received, and I forward you a letter of July 16th, from Governor Lewis, from which you will perceive that the cloud between us, the Iowas, Foxes, and Sacs, is cleared up. He says nothing of the Osages; but I presume their enemies have taken advantage of the withdrawing our protection from them. Should you not have issued orders for the 100,000 men, I believe it may rest till we meet in Washington, under present appearances, that they may not be wanting. Mr. Pinckney, in a letter of June 29th,

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says, "I had a long interview this morning with Mr. Canning, which has given me hopes that the object[1] mentioned in your letter of April 30th may be accomplished, if I should authorize the expectation which the same letter[2] suggests." He adds that he waits for the St. Michael, when he will give the result and details. He thinks they will also make acceptable satisfaction for the Chesapeake. Proposing to leave this on the 28th, I presume I had better reserve future communications for our meeting at Washington.

I salute you with constant affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, September 6, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I return you Pinckney's letter, the complexion of which I like. If they repeal their orders, we must repeal our embargo. If they make satisfaction for the Chesapeake, we must revoke our proclamation, and generalize its operation by a law. If they keep up impressments, we must adhere to non-intercourse, manufacturers' and a navigation act. I enclose for your perusal a letter of Mr. Short's. I inform him that any one of the persons he names would be approved, the government never recogniz-

[1] Repeal of the orders of council.
[2] Repeal of the embargo.

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ing a difference between the two parties of republicans in Pennsylvania. * * * * *

I salute you with constant affection.

TO WILLIAM SHORT.

MONTICELLO, September 6, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of the last moment allowed by the departure of the post to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 27th and 31st ultimo, and to say in answer to the last, that any one of the three persons you there propose would be approved as to their politics, for in appointments to office the government refuses to know any difference between descriptions of republicans, all of whom are in principle, and co-operate, with the government. Biddle we know, and have formed an excellent opinion of him. His travelling and exercise in business must have given him advantages. I am much pleased with the account you give of the sentiments of the federalists of Philadelphia as to the embargo, and that they are not in sentiment with the insurgents of the north. The papers have lately advanced in boldness and flagitiousness beyond even themselves. Such daring and atrocious lies as fill the third and fourth columns of the third page of the United States Gazette of August 31st, were never before, I believe, published with impunity in any country. However, I have from the beginning determined to submit

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myself as the subject on whom may be proved the impotency of a free press in a country like ours, against those who conduct themselves honestly and enter into no intrigue. I admit at the same time that restraining the press *to truth*, as the present laws do, is the only way of making it useful. But I have thought necessary first to prove it can never be dangerous. Not knowing whether I shall have another occasion to address you here, be assured that my sincere affections and wishes for your success and happiness accompany you everywhere.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, September 9, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your two letters of the 2d instant were read yesterday afternoon, and I now return you Penniman's and Gray's papers, and the New Orleans petition. Penniman's conduct deserves marked approbation, and there should be no hesitation about the expenses reasonably incurred. If all these people are convicted, there will be too many to be punished with death. My hope is that they will send me full statements of every man's case, that the most guilty may be marked as examples, and the less so suffer long imprisonment under reprieves from time to time.

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Packet between Vermont and Canada.

I do not think this is a time for opening new channels of intercourse with Canada, and multiplying the means of smuggling, and am therefore against this proposition.

Mr. Gray's Case.

His late rational and patriotic conduct would merit any indulgence consistent with our duty; but the reason and the rule against permitting long voyages at present, are insurmountable obstacles. It is to be hoped some circuitous means of sending his proofs can be found. A vessel may go from England as well as from here.

New Orleans Petition.

You know I have been averse to letting Atlantic flour go to New Orleans merely that they may have the *whitest* bread possible. Without honoring the motives of the petition, it gives us the fact that there is western flour enough for the New Orleans market. I would therefore discourage Atlantic cargoes to that place.

I send you the petition of Thomas Beatty for Samuel Glen, of Londonderry, for permission to load a vessel for Ireland. Mr. Beatty met me in the road in one of my daily rides. I gave his paper a hasty perusal, and, asking time for consideration, I told him I would enclose it to you, who would give the answer. On a more deliberate reading of it, I

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see nothing to exempt it from the general rules, according to which you will be so good as to dispose of it.

The cases from Charleston require consideration, and our regular post gives me, in fact, but one forenoon to answer letters. I will forward them to Mr. Theus by our extra post of the 13th.

I salute you with friendship and respect.

TO SIMEON THEUS, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, September 10, 1808.

SIR,—According to the request of Mr. Gallatin's letter, herewith enclosed, I have considered the petitions of Grove, Himeley, Everingham, and Ogier & Turner, referred to me by him, and forward you the decisions for your government. They are addressed to yourself directly to avoid unnecessary delay to the parties by passing them through him, as regularly they should have been.

Grove's Case.

Although the circular of the 1st of July limited no precise day for the departure of vessels under permits, yet in all such cases, a reasonable time only is to be understood, such as using due diligence, will suffice for the object. Such regulations can never be deemed but as temporary, and especially in times when the political circumstances governing them are liable to daily change. The time between the receipt

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at Charleston, of the circulars of July 1st and August 1st, was from the 19th or 20th of July to the 16th of August,—twenty-seven days; and within this time Mr. Grove states explicitly that he had prepared and cleared out the ship Pierce Manning, for the Havana, and that she would have sailed before the 16th of August but for adverse winds. Considering, therefore, that the limitation of departure to the 15th of August was not known at Charleston till the 16th, so that not a moment's warning was given of it there, I think that, satisfactory proof being exhibited to the collector, that she was ready for sailing, or even very nearly ready on the 16th of August, she may now be permitted to depart, on condition that she does depart within such time as the state of her preparation, somewhat of course relaxed during the suspension, may in the judgment of the collector render necessary.

The reasons for originally limiting a day, increased by time require the exaction of this condition.

Himeley's Case.

This petition has no date; but it imports to have been written on the day of the receipt of the circular of August 1st at Charleston, and consequently on the 16th of August. It affirms that the brig Three Brothers, for Matanzas, then had on board the crew and necessary provisions, and assigns a probable reason why she could not have been ready sooner. For the reasons, and on the conditions stated in

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Grove's case, (that is to say, on proof of the facts to the collector, and her prompt departure,) she ought to have a permit.

Everingham's Case.

I put entirely out of sight, as having no bearing on this case, everything which passed prior to the receipt of the circular of July 1st, and consider the case as beginning *de novo* then, and under that circular. The petitioner declares expressly that on the publication of that circular, (July 20th,) he used every exertion to prepare the ship Diana for a voyage to the Havana, and had *just prepared her* therefor when the circular of August 1st was received. The expression *just prepared*, is not absolutely definite. It may respect time or degree. It implies, however, that she was *very nearly*, if not quite, prepared. And if the collector receives satisfactory proof that he was *nearly prepared*, although she might not be in absolute readiness at the first moment of receiving the warning, and on the conditions stated in Grove's case.

The case of the schooner James is very different. The petitioner only states that he had *applied* to the collector, and obtained leave prior to August 1st,—had *begun* to use exertions, etc., and had *ordered* her to be careened and graved, etc., when the circular of August 1st arrived, to wit, August 16th, twenty-seven days had therefore intervened, and nothing more than an *order* given to careen. In the other cases we have seen that the twenty-seven days were

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sufficient to be in a state of actual readiness, even where a part of the loading was to be sent for from another State. No permit, therefore, can be granted in this case.

Ogier & Turner's Case.

The petitioners state that Ogier had time, after the receipt of the circular of July 1st, to *prepare and despatch* one vessel; but that they were only *preparing* other vessels when the second circular was received, to wit, August 16th, whereupon the collector refused to let them despatch the vessels which they had been *preparing* as aforesaid. A due diligence then having enabled them to despatch one vessel in the twenty-seven days, a like diligence, had it been used, might have despatched others. But from the tenor of their petition, the preparations of the others seem to have been merely incipient, and not near completion. They have consequently lost the claims on that equity which extends relief against rigorous rules, where due exertions have been used to fulfil them, and have been defeated only by accidental and unavoidable want of notice. They are not entitled to permits in this case.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, September 13, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I send you a letter of Short's for perusal, and one of Edgar Patterson, asking what is

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already I presume provided for, and one of General Armstrong, which I do not well understand, because I do not recollect the particular letter which came by Haley. I presume the counsel he refers to is to take possession of the Floridas. This letter of June 15th is written after the cession by Carlos to Bonaparte of all his dominions, when he supposed England would at once pounce on the Floridas as a prey, or Bonaparte occupy it as a neighbor. His next will be written after the people of Spain will have annihilated the cession, England become the protector of Florida, and Bonaparte without title or means to plant himself there as our neighbor.

Ought I to answer such a petition as that of Rowley? The people have a right to petition, but not to use that right to cover calumniating insinuations.

Turreau writes like Armstrong so much in the buskin, that he cannot give a naked fact in an intelligible form. I do not know what it is he asks for. If a transport or transports to convey sailors, there has been no refusal; and if any delay of answer, I presume it can be explained. If he wishes to buy vessels here, man them with French seamen, and send them elsewhere, the breach of neutrality would be in permitting, not in refusing it. But have we permitted this to England? His remedy is easy in every case. Repeal the decrees. I presume our Fredericksburg rider need not come after his next trip. I salute you affectionately.

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TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
(JACOB CROWNINSHIELD).

MONTICELLO, September 16, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—You will perceive by the enclosed papers that an aggression has been committed on the Spanish territory by, (if I understand the case,) both our land and sea officers. I enclose the papers to you that the necessary orders may be given in your department, and the papers handed on to the War department that the same may be done there. I suppose it will suffice for the present to order the men to be immediately given up, and the officers given to understand that the conduct of those who committed it will become a subject of consideration for the Cabinet on its re-assembling at Washington, and that we will not permit aggressions to be committed on our part, against which we remonstrated to Spain on her part.

I expect to be in Washington on the last day of September, or 1st of October. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
(ALBERT GALLATIN).

MONTICELLO, September 20, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of September 10th and 14th were received yesterday, and my time being brief, my answer must be so.

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Brig Betsey, and the Aurora.

The first having put back by stress of weather, and inevitable necessity, ought, I think, to be permitted to sail again; but not to the Aurora, which put back merely because the captain was a fool. They have lost their chance by their own folly, and have no claim to be excepted out of the general rule. If you concur in these opinions be so good as to act on them; but if you think differently, let them lie till we meet, which will probably be within two or three days after you receive this.

Mr. Soderstrom.

His application is peremptorily refused, and his lawyer's opinions are sent to Mr. Madison, that he may be properly reprimanded. For a foreign agent, addressed to the Executive, to embody himself with the lawyers of a faction whose sole object is to embarrass and defeat all the measures of the country, and by their opinions, known to be always in opposition, to endeavor to influence our proceedings is a conduct not to be permitted. The government will certainly decide for itself on whose counsel they will settle the construction of the laws they are to execute. We are to look at the intention of the Legislature, and to carry it into execution while the lawyers are nibbling at the words of the law. It is well known that on every question the lawyers are about equally divided, as is seen in the present case, and

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were we to act but in cases where no contrary opinion of a lawyer can be had, we should never act. I send White's petition for better information, to be acted on when we meet. Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, October 14, 1808.

As we know that Sullivan's licenses have overstocked the wants of the eastern States with flour, the proposal to carry more there is of itself suspicious, and therefore even regular traders ought not to be allowed. The regular trade was to supply flour for exportation as well as consumption. If the rule of the sixth (or eighth, I believe,) is extended to them, the supply will be kept up sufficiently for consumption. The rule of the sixth is a good one, because if the vessel goes off, the gain will not be more than the loss by forfeiture, which in that case becomes an efficient penalty. If they wish to take more, it furnishes good grounds of suspicion that they mean to pay the forfeitures out of the gains, and to profit by the surplus. I should think it ought to be adhered to, and that the collectors should consider it as a rule to regulate their discretion, and to give equal measure in all our posts to all our citizens.

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TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1808

SIR,—Your letter of September the 22d waited here for my return, and it is not till now that I have been able to acknowledge it. The explanation of his principles given you by the French Emperor, in conversation, is correct as far as it goes. He does not wish us to go to war with England, knowing we have no ships to carry on that war. To submit to pay to England the tribute on our commerce which she demands by her orders of council, would be to aid her in the war against him, and would give him just ground to declare war with us. He concludes, therefore, as every rational man must, that the embargo, the only remaining alternative, was a wise measure. These are acknowledged principles, and should circumstances arise which may offer advantage to our country in making them public, we shall avail ourselves of them. But as it is not usual nor agreeable to governments to bring their conversations before the public, I think it would be well to consider this on your part as confidential, leaving to the government to retain or make it public, as the general good may require. Had the Emperor gone further, and said that he condemned our vessels going voluntarily into his ports in breach of his municipal laws, we might have admitted it rigorously legal, though not friendly. But his condemnation of vessels taken on the high seas, by his privateers,

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and carried involuntarily into his ports, is justifiable by no law, is piracy, and this is the wrong we complain of against him.

Supposing that you may be still at Clermont, from whence your letter is dated, I avail myself of this circumstance to request your presenting my friendly respects to Chancellor Livingston. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, October 16, 1808.

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Massey's Commission. — A half-sighted lawyer might, perhaps, say that a commission signed with a blank for the name,—afterwards filled up, was a nullity, because, in legal instruments, any change in a material part of a bond, deed, etc., after sealing and delivery, nullifies it. But I am not certain whether there are not cases, even in ordinary transactions at law, where it is otherwise,—*e. g.*, a power of attorney sent to a distance, with a blank for the name, a blank commission, a blank subpœna, etc. But in matters of government, there can be no question but that the commission sealed and signed, with a blank for the name, date, place, etc., is good; because government can in no country be carried on without it. The most vital proceedings of our own government would become null were such a construction to prevail, and the *argumentum ab*

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inconvenienti, which is one of the great foundations of the law, will undoubtedly sustain the practice, and sanction it by the maxim "*qui facit per alterum, facit per se.*" I would not therefore give the countenance of the government to so impracticable a construction by issuing a new commission. Affectionate salutations.

TO GEORGE BLAKE, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, October 17, 1808.

SIR,—However favorably the enclosed papers represent the case of Alexander Frost, yet it would be against every rule of prudence for me to undertake to revise the verdict of a jury on *ex parte* affidavits and recommendations. If the judges and yourself who were present at the trial think the defendant a proper object of pardon, I shall be ready, on such a recommendation, to issue it. I ask the favor of your information on this subject, and salute you with esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, October 18, 1808.

I think that none of the circumstances, preceding the passage of the embargo law, stated by Mr. Lorent, make any part of his case. The misfortunes entering into the preceding history of that property, not flowing from any act of this government, authorizes no

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claims on it. The embargo law excepted from its own operation articles then laden on board a foreign ship, without distinguishing between articles of foreign or national property. It subjected to its operation all articles, whether foreign or national property, not then laden on board any foreign ship. Mr. Lorent's property was not then laden on board of any foreign ship, is therefore within the words of the law, and as certainly within its purview. It is not one of those cases which, though within the *words* of the law, were notoriously not within its intention, and are therefore relievable by an equitable exercise of discretionary power. Affectionate salutations.

TO ROBERT SMITH.

WASHINGTON, October 19, 1808.

I enclose you a petition of the widow Bennet for the liberation of her son at Boston, a minor, or for a moiety of three months' pay, to enable her to go to another son. I think when her case was formerly before us, she was said to be a woman of ill fame, and that her son did not wish to return to her. Still, however, the mother, if there be no father, is the natural guardian, and is legally entitled to the custody and the earnings of her son. If she were to make her demand legally for both or either, she would prevail. May it not be for the benefit of the son and of the service, to compromise by paying the

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sixteen dollars, and taking a regular relinquishment or transfer of her rights to the body of her son, and his earnings in future, so that we may have no more to do with her? This is referred to Mr. Smith's consideration. Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, October 19, 1808.

Is the case proposed by Mr. Wolcott left by the law at the discretion of anybody? The law makes it the duty of the Collector to detain if he *suspects* an intention to export to a foreign market, *a fortiori* if that intention be *avowed*. It is true that the first step proposed is only to go to another district, but declared to be preparatory to an exportation to the West Indies. It is true also that they say they do not mean to export until the law is repealed. But ought we under that cover to facilitate those illegal views which our experience has proved to be so general? Still, if there be any sound ground on which the permission can be given, I would rather make it the subject of consultation with you, than to have the present understood to be a final decision. Affectionate salutations.

TO JAMES MAIN.

WASHINGTON, October 19, 1808.

SIR,—Your favor of the 10th has been duly received. Certainly I would with great pleasure

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contribute anything in my power to render the history you propose to write a faithful account of the period it will comprehend. Nothing is so desirable to me, as that after mankind shall have been abused by such gross falsehoods as to events while passing, their minds should at length be set to rights by genuine truth. And I can conscientiously declare that as to myself, I wish that not only no act but no thought of mine should be unknown. But, Sir, my other and more imperious duties put it out of my power. So totally is my time engrossed by the public concerns, that for mere want of time, many of them which I ought to attend to myself, if my time sufficed, I am obliged, for want of it, to refer to others. To withdraw myself from still more of them for any voluntary object would be a failure in duty. If you shall think proper, as you say, to commit to me the perusal of the manuscript before it goes to the press, I shall then probably be in a private station, and master of my own time, and I will carefully examine, and faithfully offer any corrections or supplements which I may think will render it a true representation of events. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO CAPTAIN MATTHEW C. GROVES.

WASHINGTON, October 19, 1808.

SIR,—Your two letters of the 11th instant have been received, and I am obliged to observe that so

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wholly do the indispensable duties of my office engross my whole time, that I could not give a deliberate reading to two letters so voluminous as these, and not relating to my particular functions, without withdrawing time from objects having stricter claims on me. I have run over them hastily, and perceive that you are still engaged in the pursuit of the method of finding the longitude at sea by an observation of Jupiter and his satellites, brought to the horizon by a double reflection, as in Hadley's quadrant. That you have written a play to raise funds for prosecuting this, and wish me to circulate a subscription for it and print your letters. I will willingly subscribe myself for a number of copies to help you, but I have never permitted myself to be the circulator of any subscription, or to have agency in printing anything, conceiving it improper in my present office. And however wishful of your success in raising funds, I confess I should think them better applied to the comfort of your family. After so many better opinions it may be superfluous to offer mine. Yet justified by my friendly motives in doing so, I will observe, that to get the longitude at sea by observation of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, two desiderata are wanting: 1st, a practicable way of keeping the planet and satellite in the field of a glass magnifying sufficiently to show the satellites; 2d, a time-piece which will give the instant of time with sufficient accuracy to be useful. The bringing the planet and satellite to

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the horizon does not sensibly facilitate the observation, because the planet in his ascending and descending course is at such heights as admit the direct observation with entire convenience. On the other hand, so much light is lost by the double reflection as to dim the objects and lessen the precision with which the moment of ingress and egress may be marked. This double reflection also introduces a new source of error from the inaccuracy of the instrument; 2d, the desideratum of a time-piece which, notwithstanding the motion of the ship, shall keep time during a whole voyage with sufficient accuracy for these observations, has not yet been supplied. Fine time-keepers have been invented, but not equal to what is requisite, all of them deriving their motion from a spring, and not from a pendulum. Indeed these pursuits have lost much of their consequence since the improvement of the lunar tables has given the motion of the moon so accurately, as to make that a foundation for estimating the longitude by her relative position at a given moment with the sun or fixed stars. Every captain of a ship now understands the method of taking these lunar observations, and of calculating his longitude by them.

I have gone into these details with the most friendly view of dissuading you from wasting time, which you represent as so much needed for your family, in a pursuit which has baffled every human endeavor as yet, and has lost so much of its importance. I return you your letters, because you wish

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to have them published, and conclude with my best wishes for the success of your endeavors to raise the funds you desire, and for the application of them which shall be best for yourself and your family.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, October 21, 1808.

The Case of the Martinique Petitioners.

I think it wrong to detain foreigners caught here by the embargo; but in permitting them to take our vessels to return in, we do what is a matter of favor, not of right. Of course we can restrict them to a tonnage proportioned to their numbers. In the transport service I believe the allowance is two tons to every person. We may allow a little more room; but there ought to be an end to this, and I think it high time to put an end to it. What would you think of advertising that after a certain day, no American vessel will be permitted to go out for the purpose of carrying persons? Perhaps this should be communicated by the Secretary of State to the foreign ministers.

* * * * * * * * *

Fronda states that a proprietor of Amelia Island, in Florida, shipped his crop for a foreign port on board an American vessel. The vessel was taken by the Argus, carried into Savannah, and condemned for a breach of the embargo laws, the cargo pronounced clear. Probably the vessel had left our

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harbors without a clearance, though that is not stated, nor the cause of her condemnation specified. Permission is asked to send away the cargo. If the Spanish proprietor had no agency in drawing the vessel away contrary to the embargo laws, his employment of her was innocent, and he ought to be permitted to send his cargo out; because for us to take his property and bring it in by force, and against his will, and then to detain it under pretext of an embargo, would be equivalent to piracy or war. A vessel driven involuntarily into a port by weather, or an enemy, with prohibited goods, is always allowed to depart, and even to sell as much of the goods as will make the vessel sea-worthy, if disabled. I do not know, however, that in the present case we are bound to do any more than let one of our vessels be engaged to replace the cargo in Amelia Island, and certainly we ought not to let it go to any distant port; but if the proprietor enticed or engaged the vessel to break the embargo law, he was *particeps criminis*, and must submit to the loss which he has brought on himself. I send you Fronda's note, which should be returned to Mr. Madison, with information of the order you shall give for inquiring into the facts, and permission or refusal as they shall turn out. Affectionate salutations.

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TO THOMAS COOPER, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, October 27, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—When I received your letter of the 16th, I thought I had not a copy of my report on measures, weights, and coins, except one bound up in a volume with other reports; but on carefully searching a bundle of duplicates, I found the one I now enclose you, being the only detached one I possess. It is defective in one article. The report was composed under a severe attack of periodical headache, which came on every day at sunrise, and never left me till sunset. What had been ruminated in the day under a paroxysm of the most excruciating pain, was committed to paper by candlelight, and then the calculations were made. After delivering in the report, it was discovered that in calculating the money unit § 5 page 49, there was a small error in the third or fourth column of decimals, the correction of which however brought the proposed unit still nearer to the established one. I reported the correction in a single leaf to Congress. The copy I send you has not that leaf.

The first question to be decided is between those who are for units of measures, weights, and coins, having a known relation to something in nature of fixed dimension, and those who are for an arbitrary standard. On this "*dice vexata quaestio*" it is useless to say a word, every one having made up his mind on a view of all that can be said. Mr.

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Dorsey was so kind as to send me his pamphlet, by which I found he was for the arbitrary standard of one-third of the standard yard of H. G. of England, supposed to be in the Exchequer of that nation, a fac simile of which was to be procured and lodged in Philadelphia. I confess myself to be of the other sect, and to prefer an unit bearing a given relation to some fixed subject of nature, and of preference to the pendulum, because it may be in the possession of every man, so that he may verify his measures for himself. You will observe that I proposed alternative plans to Congress, that they might take the one or the other, according to the degree of courage they felt. The first is from page 18 to 38; the second from page 39 to 44. Were I now to decide, it would be in favor of the first, with this single addition, that each of the denominations there adopted, should be divisible decimally at the will of every individual. The iron-founder deals in tons; let him take the ton for his unit, and divide it into 10ths, 100ths, and 1000ths. The dry-goods merchant deals in pounds and yards; let him divide them decimally. The land-measurer deals in miles and poles; divide them decimally, only noting over his figures what the unit is, thus: Tons. 18.943, Lbs. 18.943, Yds. 1.8943, Miles. 189.43, etc. I have lately had a proof how familiar this division into dimes, cents, and mills, is to the people when transferred from their money to anything else. I have an odometer fixed to my carriage,

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which gives the distances in miles, dimes, and cents. The people on the road inquire with curiosity what exact distance I have found from such a place to such a place; I answer, so many miles, so many cents. I find they universally and at once form a perfect idea of the relation of the cent to the mile as an unit. They would do the same as to yards of cloth, pounds of shot, ounces of silver, or of medicine. I believe, therefore, they are susceptible of this degree of approximation to a standard rigorously philosophical; beyond this I might doubt. However, on this too, every one has an opinion, and I am open to compromise, as I am also to other plans of reformation, of which multitudes have been published. I can conclude, therefore, candidly with the "*si quid novisti rectius*," etc., and sincerely with assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

TO DOCTOR JAMES BROWN.

WASHINGTON, October 27, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—You will wonder that your letter of June the 3d should not be acknowledged till this date. I never received it till September the 12th, and coming soon after to this place, the accumulation of business I found here has prevented my taking it up till now. That you ever participated in any plan for a division of the Union, I never for one moment believed. I knew your Americanism too well. But as the enterprise against Mexico was

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of a very different character, I had supposed what I heard on that subject to be possible. You disavow it; that is enough for me, and I forever dismiss the idea. I wish it were possible to extend my belief of innocence to a very different description of men in New Orleans; but I think there is sufficient evidence of there being there a set of foreign adventurers, and native malcontents, who would concur in any enterprise to separate that country from this. I did wish to see these people get what they deserved; and under the maxim of the law itself, that *inter arma silent leges*, that in an encampment expecting daily attack from a powerful enemy, self-preservation is paramount to all law, I expected that instead of invoking the forms of the law to cover traitors, all good citizens would have concurred in securing them. Should we have ever gained our Revolution, if we had bound our hands by manacles of the law, not only in the beginning, but in any part of the revolutionary conflict? There are extreme cases where the laws become inadequate even to their own preservation, and where the universal resource is a dictator, or martial law. Was New Orleans in that situation? Although we knew here that the force destined against it was suppressed on the Ohio, yet we supposed this unknown at New Orleans at the time that Burr's accomplices were calling in the aid of the law to enable them to perpetrate its suppression, and that it was reasonable, according to the state of information there, to act

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on the expectation of a daily attack. Of this you are the best judge.

Burr is in London, and is giving out to his friends that that government offers him two millions of dollars the moment he can raise an ensign of rebellion as big as a handkerchief. Some of his partisans will believe this, because they wish it. But those who know him best will not believe it the more because he says it. For myself, even in his most flattering periods of the conspiracy, I never entertained one moment's fear. My long and intimate knowledge of my countrymen, satisfied and satisfies me, that let there ever be occasion to display the banners of the law, and the world will see how few and pitiful are those who shall array themselves in opposition. I as little fear foreign invasion. I have indeed thought it a duty to be prepared to meet even the most powerful, that of a Bonaparte, for instance, by the only means competent, that of a classification of the militia, and placing the junior classes at the public disposal; but the lesson he receives in Spain extirpates all apprehensions from my mind. If, in a peninsula, the neck of which is adjacent to him and at his command, where he can march any army without the possibility of interception or obstruction from any foreign power, he finds it necessary to begin with an army of three hundred thousand men, to subdue a nation of five millions, brutalized by ignorance, and enervated by long peace, and should find constant reinforcements of thousands after thou-

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sands, necessary to effect at last a conquest as doubtful as deprecated, what numbers would be necessary against eight millions of free Americans, spread over such an extent of country as would wear him down by mere marching, by want of food, autumnal diseases, etc.? How would they be brought, and how reinforced across an ocean of three thousand miles, in possession of a bitter enemy, whose peace, like the repose of a dog, is never more than momentary? And for what? For nothing but hard blows. If the Orleanese Creoles would but contemplate these truths, they would cling to the American Union, soul and body, as their first affection, and we should be as safe there as we are everywhere else. I have no doubt of their attachment to us in preference of the English.

I salute you with sincere affection and respect.

TO ———.

WASHINGTON, October 28, 1808.

SIR,—I thank you for the copy of General Kosciusko's treatise on the flying artillery. It is a branch of the military art which I wish extremely to see understood here, to the height of the European level. Your letter of September 20th was received in due time. I never received the letter said to have been written to me by Mr. Malesherbes, in favor of Mr. Masson. The fact of such a letter having been written by Mr. Malesherbes, is sufficient ground for

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my desiring to be useful to Mr. Masson on any occasion which may arise. No man's recommendation merits more reliance than that of M. de Malesherbes. The state and interest of the military academy shall not be forgotten. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

WASHINGTON, October 29, 1808.

SIR,—I send the enclosed letter under the benefit of your cover, and open, because I wish you to know its contents. I thought the person to whom it is addressed a very good man when here,—he is certainly a very learned and able one. I thought him peculiarly qualified to be useful with you. But in the present state of my information, I can say no more than I have to him. When you shall have read the letter, be so good as to stick a wafer in it, and not let it be delivered till it is dry, that he may not know that any one but himself sees it. The Spanish paper you enclosed me is an atrocious one. I see it has been republished in the Havana. The truth is that the patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States, but it is our duty to say nothing and to do nothing for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see Cuba and Mexico remain in their present dependence; but very unwilling to see them in that of either France or England, politically or commercially.

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We consider their interests and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere. We wish to avoid the necessity of going to war, till our revenue shall be entirely liberated from debt. Then it will suffice for war, without creating new debt or taxes. These are sentiments which I would wish you to express to any proper characters of either of these two countries, and particularly that we have nothing more at heart than their friendship. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, November 3, 1808.

A press of business here prevented my sooner taking up the three bundles of papers now returned; and even now I judge of them from the brief you have been so good as to make so fully. This is an immense relief to me.

The Wabash Saline.

I think the applications from Nashville, etc., for a share of the salt had better not be complied with. I suspect we did wrong in yielding a similar privilege to Kentucky. There would be no end to the details of the partitionary plan, and it will only shift the gains into other hands, adding the unavoidable inequalities of distribution. Better leave the distribution to its former and ordinary course, and the

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benefits will taper off from the centre till lost by distance.

Indiana Lead Mines.

I think it would be well to authorize Governor Harrison to lease them to the present applicants,—the former ones declining.

Intrusions on Public Lands.

I suspect you have partly forgotten what was agreed on the other day. 1. Notice was agreed to be given by a register to be appointed to all intruders on the Tennessee purchase, to disclaim or remove; and *in the spring* troops are to be sent to remove all non-compliers. Those on the Indian lands (except Doubleheads) to be absolutely removed without the privilege of disclaimer. 2. As to the intruders on Red River, we agreed to leave them and get Congress to extend the land law to them.

I think it will be better you should write to Governor Williams about the appointment of officers. Things casually incidental to a main business belonging to another department, had better be made the subject of a single instruction. I am sure the Secretary of State will thank you to take the trouble. Affectionate salutations.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

WASHINGTON, November 5, 1808.

I enclose you a charge by Mr. Hanson against Captain Smith and Lieutenants Davis and Dobbins

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of the militia, as having become members of an organized company, calling themselves the Tar Company, avowing their object to be the tarring and feathering citizens of some description. Although in some cases the animadversions of the law may be properly relied on to prevent what is unlawful, yet with those clothed with authority from the executive, and being a part of the executive, other preventives are expedient. These officers should be warned that the executive cannot tamely look on and see its officers threaten to become the violators instead of the protectors of the rights of our citizens. I presume, however, that all that is necessary will be that their commanding officer, (General Mason,) finding the fact true, should give them a *private* admonition, either written or verbal, as he pleases, to withdraw themselves from the illegal association; at the same time I would rather it should be stated to General Mason only "that information has been received," etc., without naming Mr. Hanson as the informer. My reason is that some disagreeable feuds have arisen at the Navy Yard which I would rather allay than foment. No proof will be necessary to be called for; because if the officers disavow the fact, it will be a proof they have that sense of propriety to which only an admonition would be intended to bring them. I salute you with constant affection.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR CHARLES PINCKNEY.

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters September 10th and of blank date, probably about the middle of October, and to thank you for the communications therein made. They were handed to the two persons therein named. I seize the first moment it is in my power to answer your question as to our foreign relations, which I do by enclosing you a copy of my message this moment delivered to the two houses of Congress, in which they are fully stated. It is evident we have before us three only alternatives; 1, embargo; 2, war; 3, submission and tribute. This last will at once be put out of question by every American, and the two first only considered. By the little conversation I have had with the members, I perceive there will be some division on this among the republicans; but what will be its extent cannot be known till they shall have heard the message and documents, and had some days to confer and make up their opinions. Being now all in the hurry and bustle of visits and business, incident to the first days of the meeting, I must here close with my salutations of friendship and respect.

TO MR. LETUE.

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1808.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of October 14th, and to thank you for the infor-

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mation it contained. While the opposition to the late laws of embargo has in one quarter amounted almost to rebellion and treason, it is pleasing to know that all the rest of the nation has approved of the proceedings of the constituted authorities. The steady union which you mention of our fellow citizens of South Carolina, is entirely in their character. They have never failed in fidelity to their country and the republican spirit of its constitution. Never before was that union more needed or more salutary than under our present crisis. I enclose you my message to both houses of Congress, this moment delivered. You will see that we have to choose between the alternatives of embargo and war; there is indeed one and only one other, that is submission and tribute. For all the federal propositions for trading to the places permitted by the edicts of the belligerents, result in fact in submission, although they do not choose to pronounce the naked word. I do not believe, however, that our fellow citizens of that sect with you will concur with those to the east in this parricide purpose, any more than in the disorganizing conduct which has disgraced the latter. I conclude this from their conduct in your legislature in its vote on that question. Accept my salutations and assurances of respect.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WILLIAM H. CABELL.

WASHINGTON, November 13, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Between three and four years ago, I received the enclosed petitions praying for the pardon or the enlargement of Thomas Logwood, then and still confined in the penitentiary of Richmond, for counterfeiting the bank notes of the United States. I consulted Governor Page on the subject, who, after conferring with his council, informed me that though he was for a pardon himself, he found a division of opinion on the question, and therefore could not advise it. Between three and four years have since been added to his confinement, and if his conduct during that time has been such as to lessen his claims to a mitigation of his sentence, they must certainly stand now on higher ground, and the more so as two of his accomplices confined here, have by a very general wish been pardoned more than a year ago. Will you be so good as to give me your opinion on the subject, as you are in a situation to know what his conduct has been? His wife is represented as a very meritorious character, and her connections respectable; probably they may be known to you. His neighbors, you will observe, ask his restoration to them. Whether would it be best to pardon him absolutely, or on condition of giving security for his good behavior? or shall we open the prison door and let him go out, notifying him that if he will continue on his own farm or those next adjoining, and keep

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himself from all suspicious intercourse and correspondence, he will not be molested; otherwise, that he will be retaken and replaced in his present situation? Your advice on this subject will much oblige me. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, November 13, 1808.

1st. The ship Aurora, Captain Rand. Provisions, lumber and naval stores being the articles on which we rely most for effect during our embargo. Rand's landing, as to the great mass of its articles, seems not to render his case suspicious. Keeping therefore the articles of provisions, lumber and naval stores, within their regular limits, I see no objection to a permit in the character of his cargo; and the objection drawn from his dislike and disapprobation of the embargo, has never been considered as an obstacle where the person has not actually been guilty of its infraction. I think a permit should be granted under the regular limitations as to the proportion of provisions, etc.

2d. The schooner Concord, property of John Bell of Petersburg. Wherever a person has once been guilty of breaking the embargo laws, we can no longer have confidence in him, and every shipment made by him becomes suspicious. No permit should be granted him; the fact of a prior breach being

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sufficient without the formality of its being found by jury.

3d. The schooner Caroline, belonging to Brown and Pilsbury of Buckstown. Where every attempt, the Collector says, has been made and still continues to be made to evade the embargo laws, the nature of the cargo is sufficient to refuse the permit, being wholly of provisions and lumber. This is the first time the character of the place has been brought under consideration as an objection. Yet a general disobedience to the laws in any place must have weight towards refusing to give them any facilities to evade. In such a case we may fairly require positive proof that the individual of a town tainted with a general spirit of disobedience, has never said or done anything himself to countenance that spirit. But the first cause of refusal being sufficient, an inquiry into character and conduct is unnecessary.

TO LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR LEVI LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, November 13, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a petition from Nantucket, and refer it for your decision. Our opinion here is, that that place has been so deeply concerned in smuggling, that if it wants, it is because it has illegally sent away what it ought to have retained for its own consumption. Be so good as to bear in mind that I have asked the favor of you to see that your State encounters no real want, while, at the

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same time, where applications are made merely to cover fraud, no facilities towards that be furnished. I presume there can be no want in Massachusetts as yet, as I am informed that Governor Sullivan's permits are openly bought and sold here and in Alexandria, and at other markets. The congressional campaign is just opening: three alternatives alone are to be chosen from: 1, embargo; 2, war; 3, submission and tribute. And, wonderful to tell, the last will not want advocates. The real question, however, will lie between the two first, on which there is considerable division. As yet the first seems most to prevail; but opinions are by no means yet settled down. Perhaps the advocates of the second may, to a formal declaration of war, prefer *general* letters of marque and reprisal, because, on a repeal of their edicts by the belligerent, a revocation of the letters of marque restores peace without the delay, difficulties, and ceremonies of a treaty. On this occasion, I think it is fair to leave to those who are to act on them, the decisions they prefer, being to be myself but a spectator. I should not feel justified in directing measures which those who are to execute them would disapprove. Our situation is truly difficult. We have been pressed by the belligerents to the very wall, and all further retreat is impracticable.

I salute you with sincere friendship.

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TO THE HON. JOSEPH B. VARNUM.

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1808.

SIR,—You will perceive in the enclosed petitions, a request that I will lay them before Congress. This I cannot do consistently with my own opinion of propriety, because where the petitioners have a right to petition their immediate representatives in Congress directly, I have deemed it neither necessary nor proper for them to pass their petition through the intermediate channel of the Executive. But as the petitioners may be ignorant of this, and, confiding in it, may omit the proper measure, I have usually put such petitions into the hands of the Representatives of the State, informally to be used or not as they see best, and considering me as entirely disclaiming any agency in the case. With this view, I take the liberty of placing these papers in your hands, not as Speaker of the House, but as one of the Representatives from the State from which they came. Whether they should be handed on to the Representatives of the particular districts, (which are unknown to me,) yourself will be the best judge. I salute you with affection, esteem and respect.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1808.

MY DEAR JEFFERSON,— * * * *

Your situation, thrown at such a distance from us, and alone, cannot but give us all great anxieties for

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you. As much has been secured for you, by your particular position and the acquaintance to which you have been recommended, as could be done towards shielding you from the dangers which surround you. But thrown on a wide world, among entire strangers, without a friend or guardian to advise, so young too, and with so little experience of mankind, your dangers are great, and still your safety must rest on yourself. A determination never to do what is wrong, prudence and good humor, will go far towards securing to you the estimation of the world. When I recollect that at fourteen years of age, the whole care and direction of myself was thrown on myself entirely, without a relation or friend qualified to advise or guide me, and recollect the various sorts of bad company with which I associated from time to time, I am astonished I did not turn off with some of them, and become as worthless to society as they were. I had the good fortune to become acquainted very early with some characters of very high standing, and to feel the incessant wish that I could ever become what they were. Under temptations and difficulties, I would ask myself what would Dr. Small, Mr. Wythe, Peyton Randolph do in this situation? What course in it will insure me their approbation? I am certain that this mode of deciding on my conduct, tended more to correctness than any reasoning powers I possessed. Knowing the even and dignified line they pursued, I could never doubt for a moment which of two courses

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would be in character for them. Whereas, seeking the same object through a process of moral reasoning, and with the jaundiced eye of youth, I should often have erred. From the circumstances of my position, I was often thrown into the society of horse racers, card players, fox hunters, scientific and professional men, and of dignified men; and many a time have I asked myself, in the enthusiastic moment of the death of a fox, the victory of a favorite horse, the issue of a question eloquently argued at the bar, or in the great council of the nation, well, which of these kinds of reputation should I prefer? That of a horse jockey? a fox hunter? an orator? or the honest advocate of my country's rights? Be assured, my dear Jefferson, that these little returns into ourselves, this self-catechising habit, is not trifling nor useless, but leads to the prudent selection and steady pursuit of what is right.

I have mentioned good humor as one of the preservatives of our peace and tranquillity. It is among the most effectual, and its effect is so well imitated and aided, artificially, by politeness, that this also becomes an acquisition of first rate value. In truth, politeness is artificial good humor, it covers the natural want of it, and ends by rendering habitual a substitute nearly equivalent to the real virtue. It is the practice of sacrificing to those whom we meet in society, all the little conveniences and preferences which will gratify them, and deprive us of nothing worth a moment's consideration; it is the giving a

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pleasing and flattering turn to our expressions, which will conciliate others, and make them pleased with us as well as themselves. How cheap a price for the good will of another! When this is in return for a rude thing said by another, it brings him to his senses, it mortifies and corrects him in the most salutary way, and places him at the feet of your good nature, in the eyes of the company. But in stating prudential rules for our government in society, I must not omit the important one of never entering into dispute or argument with another. I never saw an instance of one of two disputants convincing the other by argument. I have seen many, on their getting warm, becoming rude, and shooting one another. Conviction is the effect of our own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude, or weighing within ourselves, dispassionately, what we hear from others, standing uncommitted in argument ourselves. It was one of the rules which, above all others, made Doctor Franklin the most amiable of men in society, "never to contradict anybody." If he was urged to announce an opinion, he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information, or by suggesting doubts. When I hear another express an opinion which is not mine, I say to myself, he has a right to his opinion, as I to mine; why should I question it? His error does me no injury, and shall I become a Don Quixote, to bring all men by force of argument to one opinion? If a fact be misstated, it is probable he is gratified by a belief of it, and I

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have no right to deprive him of the gratification. If he wants information, he will ask it, and then I will give it in measured terms; but if he still believes his own story, and shows a desire to dispute the fact with me, I hear him and say nothing. It is his affair, not mine, if he prefers error. There are two classes of disputants most frequently to be met with among us. The first is of young students, just entered the threshold of science, with a first view of its outlines, not yet filled up with the details and modifications which a further progress would bring to their knowledge. The other consists of the ill-tempered and rude men in society, who have taken up a passion for politics. (Good humor and politeness never introduce into mixed society, a question on which they foresee there will be a difference of opinion.) From both of these classes of disputants, my dear Jefferson, keep aloof, as you would from the infected subjects of yellow fever or pestilence. Consider yourself, when with them, as among the patients of Bedlam, needing medical more than moral counsel. Be a listener only, keep within yourself, and endeavor to establish with yourself the habit of silence, especially on politics. In the fevered state of our country, no good can ever result from any attempt to set one of these fiery zealots to rights, either in fact or principle. They are determined as to the facts they will believe, and the opinions on which they will act. Get by them, therefore, as you would by an angry bull; it is not for a man of sense

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to dispute the road with such an animal. You will be more exposed than others to have these animals shaking their horns at you, because of the relation in which you stand with me. Full of political venom, and willing to see me and to hate me as a chief in the antagonist party, your presence will be to them what the vomit grass is to the sick dog, a nostrum for producing ejaculation. Look upon them exactly with that eye, and pity them as objects to whom you can administer only occasional ease. My character is not within their power. It is in the hands of my fellow citizens at large, and will be consigned to honor or infamy by the verdict of the republican mass of our country, according to what themselves will have seen, not what their enemies and mine shall have said. Never, therefore, consider these puppies in politics as requiring any notice from you, and always show that you are not afraid to leave my character to the umpirage of public opinion. Look steadily to the pursuits which have carried you to Philadelphia, be very select in the society you attach yourself to, avoid taverns, drinkers, smokers, idlers, and dissipated persons generally; for it is with such that broils and contentions arise; and you will find your path more easy and tranquil. The limits of my paper warn me that it is time for me to close with my affectionate adieu.

P. S. Present me affectionately to Mr. Ogilvie, and, in doing the same to Mr. Peale, tell him I am

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writing with his polygraph, and shall send him mine the first moment I have leisure enough to pack it.

TO THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,—Being to remove within a few months from my present residence to one still more distant from the seat of the meetings of the American Philosophical Society, I feel it a duty no longer to obstruct its service by keeping from the chair members whose position as well as qualifications, may enable them to discharge its duties with so much more effect. Begging leave, therefore, to withdraw from the Presidency of the Society at the close of the present term, I avail myself of the occasion gratefully to return my thanks to the Society for the repeated proofs they have been pleased to give of their favor and confidence in me, and to assure them, in retiring from the honorable station in which they have been pleased so long to continue me, that I carry with me all the sentiments of an affectionate member and faithful servant of the Society.

Asking the favor of you to make this communication to the Society, I beg leave to tender to each of you personally the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

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The House in Which Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence

Reproduced from a Photograph.

Though numerous houses have laid claim to the distinction of being the Declaration House, the one here reproduced is conceded to have been the original building. It was on the second floor of this historic structure that Jefferson penned his immortal Declaration. It stood for one hundred and eight years on the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets (700 Market Street), Philadelphia, and was demolished in 1883.

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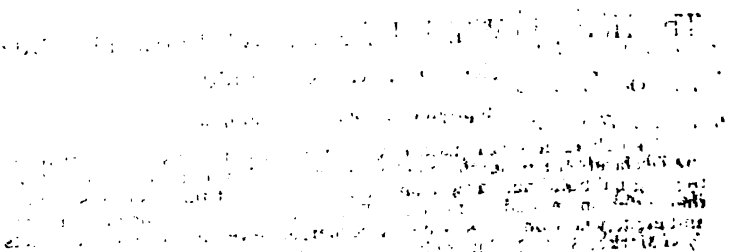

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TO SAMUEL HAWKINS, KINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1808.

SIR,—Business and indisposition have prevented my sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, which came to hand on the 10th. Mr. Granger, before that, had sent here the very elegant ivory staff of which you wished my acceptance. The motives of your wish are honorable to me, and gratifying, as they evidence the approbation of my public conduct by a stranger who has not viewed it through the partialities of personal acquaintance. Be assured, Sir, that I am as grateful for the testimony, as if I could have accepted the token of it which you have so kindly offered. On coming into public office, I laid it down as a law of my conduct, while I should continue in it, to accept no present of any sensible pecuniary value. A pamphlet, a new book, or an article of new curiosity, have produced no hesitation, because below suspicion. But things of sensible value, however innocently offered in the first examples, may grow at length into abuse, for which I wish not to furnish a precedent. The kindness of the motives which led to this manifestation of your esteem, sufficiently assures me that you will approve of my desire, by a perseverance in the rule, to retain that consciousness of a disinterested administration of the public trusts, which is essential to perfect tranquillity of mind. Replacing, therefore, the subject of this

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letter in the hands of Mr. Granger, under your orders, and repeating that the offer meets the same thankfulness as if accepted, I tender you my salutations and assurances of respect.

TO DOCTOR BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1808.

SIR,—In answer to the inquiries of the benevolent Dr. De Carro on the subject of the upland or mountain rice, Oryza Mutica, I will state to you what I know of it. I first became informed of the existence of a rice which would grow in uplands without any more water than the common rains, by reading a book of Mr. De Porpre, who had been Governor of the Isle of France, who mentions it as growing there and all along the coast of Africa successfully, and as having been introduced from Cochin-China. I was at that time (1784–89) in France, and there happening to be there a Prince of Cochin-China, on his travels, and then returning home, I obtained his promise to send me some. I never received it however, and mention it only as it may have been sent, and furnished the ground for the inquiries of Dr. De Carro, respecting my receiving it from China. When at Havre on my return from France, I found there Captain Nathaniel Cutting, who was the ensuing spring to go on a voyage along the coast of Africa. I engaged him to inquire for this; he was there just after the harvest, procured and sent me a thirty-

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gallon cask of it. It arrived in time the ensuing spring to be sown. I divided it between the Agricultural Society of Charleston and some private gentlemen of Georgia, recommending it to their care, in the hope which had induced me to endeavor to obtain it, that if it answered as well as the swamp rice, it might rid them of that source of their summer diseases. Nothing came of the trials in South Carolina, but being carried into the upper hilly parts of Georgia, it succeeded there perfectly, has spread over the country, and is now commonly cultivated; still, however, for family use chiefly, as they cannot make it for sale in competition with the rice of the swamps. The former part of these details is written from memory, the papers being at Monticello which would enable me to particularize exactly the dates of times and places. The latter part is from the late Mr. Baldwin, one of those whom I engaged in the distribution of the seed in Georgia, and who in his annual attendance on Congress, gave me from time to time the history of its progress. It has got from Georgia into Kentucky, where it is cultivated by many individuals for family use. I cultivated it two or three years at Monticello, and had good crops, as did my neighbors, but not having conveniences for husking it, we declined it. I tried some of it in a pot, while I lived in Philadelphia, and gave seed to Mr. Bartram. It produced luxuriant plants with us both, but no seed; nor do I believe it will ripen in the United States as far north as Philadelphia.

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Business and an indisposition of some days must apologize for this delay in answering your letter of October 24th, which I did not receive till the 6th of November. And permit me here to add my salutations and assurances of esteem and respect.

TO THOMAS MONROE.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1808.

The Case of the Sale of City Lots under a Decree of the Chancellor of Maryland.

The deed of the original owners of the site of the city of Washington to certain trustees, after making provisions for streets, public squares, etc., declares that the residue of the ground, laid off in building lots, shall one moiety belong to the original proprietors, and the other moiety shall be sold on such terms and conditions as the President of the United States shall direct, the proceeds, after certain specified payments, to be paid to the President as a grant of money, and to be applied for the purposes, and according to the Act of Congress; which Act of Congress (1790, c. 28) had authorized the President to accept grants of money, to purchase or to accept land for the use of the United States, to provide suitable buildings, etc. Of these residuary building lots, one thousand were sold by the Commissioner to Greenleaf for $80,000, who transferred them to Morris and Nicholson, with an express lien on them for the purchase money due to the city. Under this lien the

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Chancellor of Maryland has decreed that they shall be sold immediately for whatever they will bring; that the proceeds shall be applied first to the costs of suit and sale, and the balance towards paying the original purchase money. The sale has now proceeded, for some days, at very low prices, and must proceed till the costs of suit and sale are raised. It is well understood that under no circumstances of sale, however favorable, can they pay five in the pound of the original debt; and that if the whole are now forced into sale, at what they will bring, they will not pay one in the pound; and being the only fund from which a single dollar of the debt can ever be recovered, (on account of the bankruptcy of all the purchasers,) of $25,000 which the lots may bring if offered for sale from time to time *pari passu* with the growing demand, $20,000 will be lost by a forced sale. To save this sum is desirable. And the interest in it being ultimately that of the United States, I have consulted with the Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller, and after due consideration, I am of opinion it is for the public interest, and within the powers of the President, under the deed of trust and laws, to repurchase under the decree, at the lowest prices obtainable, such of these lots as no other purchaser shall offer to take at what the Superintendent shall deem their real value, that is to say, what they will in his judgment sell for hereafter, if only offered from time to time as purchasers shall want them. The sums so to be allowed for

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them by the Superintendent to be passed to the credit of Greenleaf, and retaining a right to the unsatisfied balance as damages due for non-compliance with his contract; a matter of form only, as not a cent of it is expected ever to be obtained. I consider the reconveyance of these lots at the price which the Superintendent shall nominally allow for them, as replacing them in our hands, in *statu quo* prices, as if the title had never been passed out of us; and that thereafter they will be in the condition of all other lots, sold, but neither conveyed nor paid for; that is to say, liable to be resold for the benefit of the city; as has been invariably practised in all other cases. The Superintendent is instructed to proceed accordingly.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1808.

1. D. W. Coxe and the ship Comet. The application to send another vessel to the Havana, to bring home the proceeds of the cargo of the Comet, charged with a breach of embargo, must be rejected for three reasons, each insuperable. 1st. The property was not shipped from the United States prior to December 22d, 1807, and therefore is not within the description of cases in which a permission by the executive is authorized by law. 2d. The limitation of time for permissions has been long expired. 3d. Although, in an action on the bond of the Comet, the fabricated

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testimony of distress may embarrass judges and juries, trammelled by legal rules of evidence, yet it ought to have no weight with us to whom the law has referred to decide according to our discretion, well knowing that it was impossible to build up fraud by general rules. We know that the fabrication of proofs of leaky ships, stress of weather, cargoes sold under duress, are a regular part of the system of infractions of the embargo, with the manufacture of which every foreign port is provided, and that their oaths and forgeries are a regular merchandise in every port. We must therefore consider them as nothing, and that the act of entering a foreign port and selling the cargo is decisive evidence of an intentional breach of embargo, not to be counter-vailed by the letters of all the Charles Dixeys in the world; for every vessel is provided with a Charles Dixey.

My opinion is, therefore, that no permission ought ever to be granted for any vessel to leave our ports (while the embargo continues) in which any person is concerned either in interest or in navigating her, who has ever been concerned in interest, or in the navigation of a vessel which has at any time before entered a foreign port contrary to the views of the embargo laws, and under any pretended distress or duress whatever. This rule will not lead us wrong once in a hundred times.

2. I send you the case of Mr. Mitchell and the ship Neutrality, merely as a matter of form; for I

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presume it must be rejected on the ground of limitation. These petitioners are getting into the habit of calling on me personally in the first instance. These personal solicitations being very embarrassing, I am obliged to tell them I will refer the case to you, and they will receive a written answer. But I hope, in your amendments to the law, you will propose a repeal of the power to give permissions to go for property.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1808.

The idea of regulating the coasting trade (to New Orleans for instance) by the quantity of tonnage sufficient for each port, is new to me, and presents difficulties through which I cannot see my way. To determine how much tonnage will suffice for the coasting trade of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the other ports great and small, and to divide this tonnage impartially among the competitors of each place, would embarrass us infinitely, and lead to unavoidable errors and irregularities. Is it not better to let it regulate itself as to all innocent articles, and to continue our attentions and regulations to the articles of provisions and lumber? If the rule of the *one-eighth* carries too much to New Orleans, and I am sure it does, why not confine it to the ports between St. Mary's and Passamaquoddy, (excluding these two,) and trust for New Orleans to the western

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supplies and Governor Claiborne's permits? I suppose them sufficient, because Governor Claiborne has assured us that the western supplies are sufficient for the consumption of New Orleans, and we see that New Orleans has exported flour the last six months, and that, too, to the West Indies, whither will go also whatever flour the rule of the *one-eighth* carries there, or its equivalent in western flour. These ideas on the subject are of the first impression; and I keep the decision open for any further light which can be thrown on it.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1808.

Mr. Harrison will continue in office till the 3d of March. I send you tit for tat, one lady application for another. However our feelings are to be perpetually harrowed by these solicitations, our course is plain, and inflexible to right or left. But for God's sake get us relieved from this dreadful drudgery of refusal. Affectionate salutations.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1808.

The Case of the Schooner Concord, sold by J. Bell of Petersburg, to M. W. Hancock of Richmond.

I think it may be concluded from the letters of Hancock and the collector, that the purchase of the

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schooner has been a *bona fide* one; but it is not even alleged that he has purchased the cargo, but it appears on the contrary that Bell has the same concern in that as before. As, where a person has once evaded the embargo laws, we consider all subsequent shipments and proposed voyages by him to be with the fraudulent intention; the present shipment of the cargo of tobacco, before refused, being still the concern of Bell, must of course be still suspicious, and refused a permit. But the request of the purchaser of the schooner, that, after taking out the cargo, he may have a clearance for her to go in ballast to the district of Richmond, may be granted.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1808.

The answer to the petition of Percival and others, praying that they may be permitted to send a vessel or vessels to take up their men from the desolate islands of the Indian Ocean, and thence to proceed on a trading voyage to Canton, etc., cannot but be a thing of course, that days having been publicly announced after which no permissions to send vessels to bring home property would be granted, which days are past long since, and the rule rigorously adhered to, it cannot now be broken through. If Congress continue the power, it will show that they mean it shall be exercised, and we may then consider

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on what new grounds permissions may be granted. Affectionate salutations.

TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I always consider it as the most friendly office which can be rendered me, to be informed of anything which is going amiss, and which I can remedy. I had known that there had been a very blamable failure in the clothing department, which had not become known so as to be remedied till the beginning of October; but I had believed that the remedy had then been applied with as much diligence as the case admitted. After the suggestions from General Smith and Mr. Giles the other day, I made inquiry into the fact, and have received the enclosed return, which will show exactly what has been done. Can I get the favor of you to show it to General Smith and Mr. Giles, to whom I am sure it will give as much satisfaction as to myself, and to re-enclose it to me? I salute you and them with sincere friendship and respect.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1808.

SIR,—By the treaty of 1803, we obtained from the Kaskaskias the country as far as the ridge dividing the waters of the Kaskaskias from those of the

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Illinois River; by the treaty of 1804, with the Sacs and Foxes, they ceded to us from the Illinois to the Ouisconsin. Between these two cessions is a gore of country, to wit, between the Illinois River and Kaskaskias line, which I understand to have belonged to the Piorias, and that that tribe is now extinct; if both these facts be true, we succeed to their title by our being proprietors paramount of the whole country. In this case it is interesting to settle our boundary with our next neighbors the Kickapoos. Where their western boundary is, I know not; but they cannot come lower down the Illinois River than the Illinois Lake, on which stood the old Pioria fort, and perhaps not so low. The Kickapoos are bounded to the south-east, I presume, by the ridge between the waters of the Illinois and Wabash, to which the Miamis claim, and north-east by the Pottawattamies. Of course it is with the Kickapoos alone we have to settle a boundary. I would therefore recommend to you to take measures for doing this. You will of course first endeavor with all possible caution to furnish yourself with the best evidence to be had, of the real location of the south-west boundary of the Kickapoos, and then endeavor to bring them to an acknowledgment of it formally, by a treaty of limits. If it be nothing more, the ordinary presents are all that will be necessary, but if they cede a part of their own country, then a price proportioned will be proper. In a letter to you of February 27th, 1803, I mentioned that I had heard there was still one

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Pioria man living, and that a compensation making him easy for life should be given him, and his conveyance of the country by a regular deed be obtained. If there be such a man living, I think this should still be done. The ascertaining the line between the Kickapoos and us is now of importance, because it will close our possessions on the hither bank of the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Ouisconsin, and give us a broad margin to prevent the British from approaching that river, on which, under color of their treaty, they would be glad to hover, that they might smuggle themselves and their merchandise into Louisiana. Their treaty can only operate on the country so long as it is Indian; and in proportion as it becomes ours exclusively, their ground is narrowed. It makes it easier, too, for us to adopt on this side of the Mississippi a policy we are beginning on the other side, that of permitting no traders, either ours or theirs, to go to the Indian towns, but oblige them all to settle and be stationary at our factories, where we can have their conduct under our observation and control. However, our first object must be to blockade them from the Mississippi, and to this I ask the favor of your attention; and salute you with great friendship and respect.

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TO JOEL BARLOW.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I return you Doctor Maese's letter, which a pressure of business has occasioned me to keep too long. I think an account of the manufactures of Philadelphia would be really useful, and that the manufactures of other places should be added from time to time, as information of them should be received. To give a perfect view of the whole, would require a report from every county or township of the United States. Perhaps the present moment would be premature, as they are, in truth, but just now in preparation. The government could not aid the publication by the subscription suggested by Doctor Maese, without a special law for it. All the purposes for which they can pay a single dollar, are specified by law. The advantage of the veterinary institution proposed, may perhaps be doubted. If it be problematical whether physicians prevent death where the disease, unaided, would have terminated fatally,—oftener than they produce it, where order would have been restored to the system by the process, if uninterrupted, provided by nature, and in the case of a man who can describe the seat of his disease, its character, progress, and often its cause, what might we expect in the case of the horse, —mute, etc., yielding no sensible and certain indications of his disease? They have long had these institutions in Europe; has the world received as

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yet one iota of valuable information from them? If it has, it is unknown to me. At any rate, it may be doubted whether, where so many institutions of obvious utility are yet wanting, we should select this one to take the lead. I return you Gibbon, with thanks. I send you, also, for your shelf of pamphlets, one which gives really a good historical view of our funding system, and of federal transactions generally, from an early day to the present time. I salute you with friendship and respect.

TO CHARLES THOMSON, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1808.

I thank you, my dear and ancient friend, for the two volumes of your translation, which you have been so kind as to send me. I have dipped into it at the few moments of leisure which my vocations permit, and I perceive that I shall use it with great satisfaction on my return home. I propose there, among my first employments, to give to the Septuagint an attentive perusal, and shall feel the aid you have now given me. I am full of plans of employment when I get there,—they chiefly respect the active functions of the body. To the mind I shall administer amusement chiefly. An only daughter and numerous family of grandchildren, will furnish me great resources of happiness. I learn with sincere pleasure that you have health and activity enough to have performed the journey to and from

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Lancaster without inconvenience. It has added another proof that you are not wearied with well-doing. Although I have enjoyed as uniform health through life as reason could desire, I have no expectation that, even if spared to your age, I shall at that period be able to take such a journey. I am already sensible of decay in the power of walking, and find my memory not so faithful as it used to be. This may be partly owing to the incessant current of new matter flowing constantly through it; but I ascribe to years their share in it also. That you may be continued among us to the period of your own wishes, and that it may be filled with continued health and happiness, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate friend.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1808.

The enclosed petition, from Deville, was handed me by General Turreau. I told him at once it was inadmissible; that days had been long ago announced, after which no vessel would be permitted to depart; that in favor of emigrants we had continued indulgences till very lately; but as there must be an end to it, that time had come, and we had determined to give no more permissions. They had had a complete year to depart, and had not availed themselves of it. He appeared satisfied, and perhaps will himself give the answer. However, an answer of the

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above purport may be given from your office. I have referred the case of the British boats to the Attorney General for his opinion. Affectionate salutations.

TO DOCTOR GEORGE LOGAN.

WASHINGTON, December 27, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 8th, by Mr. Cunow, was duly received, and I now return you the letter it covered. Mr. Cunow's object was so perfectly within our own views, that it was readily obtained, and I am in hopes he has left us with a more correct opinion of the dispositions of the administration than his fraternity has generally manifested. I have within a few days had visits from the Pottawattamies, Miamis, Chippewas, Delawares, and Cherokees, and there arrived some yesterday, of, I believe, the Ottoways, Wyandots, and others of that neighborhood. Our endeavors are to impress on them all profoundly, temperance, peace, and agriculture; and I am persuaded they begin to feel profoundly the soundness of the advice.

Congress seems as yet to have been able to make up no opinion. Some are for taking off the embargo before they separate; others not till their meeting next autumn; but both with a view to substitute war, if no change takes place with the powers of Europe. A middle opinion is to have an extra session in May, to come then to a final decision. I have thought it right to take no part myself in proposing

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measures, the execution of which will devolve on my successor. I am therefore chiefly an unmeddling listener to what others say. On the same ground, I shall make no new appointments which can be deferred till the 4th of March, thinking it fair to leave to my successor to select the agents for his own administration. As the moment of my retirement approaches, I become more anxious for its arrival, and to begin at length to pass what yet remains to me of life and health in the bosom of my family and neighbors, and in communication with my friends, undisturbed by political concerns or passions. Permit me to avail myself of this occasion to assure Mrs. Logan and yourself of my continued friendship and attachment, and that I shall ever be pleased to hear of your happiness and prosperity, saluting you both with affection and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, December 28, 1808.

I enclose you the petition of Jacob Smith of Newport, in the case of the ship Triumph, which is a new case to me. Perhaps the practice as to foreign ships arriving since the embargo laws, with which I am unacquainted, may facilitate the solution. What should be done?

The Atalanta.

Is not the collector the person who is to search into the fact charged? I do not know who it is that

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does this in case of seizure. However, I will send the case to Mr. Smith.

The petition of Manuel Valder for a vessel to carry off Spanish subjects, is rejected.

The cases from St. Mary are really embarrassing. I sent the papers to Mr. Madison to ask his opinion. He had read only one when he called on me this morning. He seemed strongly of opinion that it would be most advisable to send some person to the Governor of East Florida, to enter into some friendly arrangements with him. He has the papers still under consideration; in the meantime we may consider as further means, how it might do to destroy all boats and canoes on our side the river, paying for them? To arrest impression, and bring to regular trial every negro taken in the act of violating the laws? This for mere consideration. Affectionate salutations.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, December 28, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday your favor of the 22d. It was the first information I had had of the sentence against Moss, the District Attorney not having written to me as you supposed. I referred the case to the Postmaster General, who in his answer says, "His is not a single crime, but a series of crimes, for months if not years. There were found upon him between $1,300 and $1,500, which he had robbed in small sums."

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You are sensible that the Legislature having made stripes a regular part of the punishment, that the pardoning them cannot be a thing of course, as that would be to repeal the law, but that extraordinary and singular considerations are necessary to entitle the criminal to that remission. The information of the Postmaster General marks such an habitual depravity of mind, as leaves little room to suppose that any facts can countervail it; and the robbery of the mail has now become so frequent and great an evil, that the moment is unfavorable to propositions of relaxation. Still I shall be ready to receive and consider any testimony in his favor, which his friends may bring forward, and will do it on whatever I may believe to have been the intention of the Legislature in confiding the power of pardon to the Executive. The opinion of the judges who sat in the cause, I have ever required as indispensable to ground a pardon. A copy of the judgment is also necessary. I have taken the liberty of troubling you with these observations, because I have received no application but your letter, and lest, on the contrary supposition, his case might suffer for want of information. Accept my salutations and assurances of friendly esteem and respect.

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TO ———.

WASHINGTON, December 31, 1808.

SIR,—The General Government of the United States has considered it their duty and interest to extend their care and patronage over the Indian tribes within their limits, and to endeavor to render them friends, and in time perhaps useful members of the nation. Perceiving the injurious effects produced by their inordinate use of spirituous liquors, they passed laws authorizing measures against the vending or distributing such liquors among them. Their introduction by traders was accordingly prohibited, and for some time was attended with the best effects. I am informed, however, that latterly the Indians have got into the practice of purchasing such liquors themselves in the neighboring settlements of whites, and of carrying them into their towns, and that in this way our regulations so salutary to them, are now defeated. I must, therefore, request your Excellency to submit this matter to the consideration of your Legislature. I persuade myself that in addition to the moral inducements which will readily occur, they will find it not indifferent to their own interests to give us their aid in removing, for their neighbors, this great obstacle to their acquiring industrious habits, and attaching themselves to the regular and useful pursuits of life; for this purpose it is much desired that they should pass effectual laws to restrain their citizens from

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vending and distributing spirituous liquors to the Indians. I pray your Excellency to accept the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO HENRY GUEST.

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1809.

SIR,—A constant pressure of business must be my apology for being so late in acknowledging the receipt of your favor of November 25th. I am sensible of the kindness of your rebuke on my determination to retire from office at a time when our country is laboring under difficulties truly great. But if the principle of rotation be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there never will be a time when real difficulties will not exist, and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation. You suppose I am "in the prime of life for rule." I am sensible I am not; and before I am so far declined as to become insensible of it, I think it right to put it out of my own power. I have the comfort too of knowing that the person whom the public choice has designated to receive the charge from me, is eminently qualified as a safe depository by the endowments of integrity, understanding, and experience. On a review therefore of the reasons for my retirement, I think you cannot fail to approve them.

Your proposition for preventing the effect of splin-

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ters in a naval action, will certainly merit consideration and trial whenever our vessels shall be called into serious service; till then the perishable nature of the covering, would render it an unnecessary expense. I tender you my best wishes for the continuance of your life and health, and salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1809.

I do not recollect the instructions to Governor Lewis respecting squatters. But if he had any they were unquestionably to prohibit them rigorously. I have no doubt, if he had not written instructions, that he was verbally so instructed. Carr's story has very much the air of an idle rumor, willingly listened to. It shows some germ of discontent existing.

* * * * * * * * *

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR (HENRY DEARBORN).

WASHINGTON, January 12, 1809.

SIR,—I have read with pleasure the letter of Captain Davidson, by which, according to unanimous resolves of the company of light infantry of the first legion of the militia of Columbia commanded by him, he tenders their services as volunteers under the Act of Congress of February 24th, 1807. I accept

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the offer, and render to Captain Davidson and the other officers and privates of the company, that praise to which their patriotism so justly entitles them. So long urged by the aggressions of the belligerent powers, and every measure of forbearance at length exhausted, our country must see with sincere satisfaction the alacrity with which persons will flock to her standard whenever her constituted authorities shall declare that we take into our own hands the redress of our wrongs. Be so good as to communicate in behalf of the public my thanks to Captain Davidson, the other officers and privates of his company, and be assured yourself of my affectionate respect.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

WASHINGTON, January 12, 1809.

I suppose that in answering Governor Drayton we should compliment his ardor, and smooth over our non-compliance with his request; that he might be told that the President sees, in his present application, a proof of his vigilance and zeal in whatever concerns the public safety, and will count with the more confidence on his future attentions and energy whenever circumstances shall call for them. That he considers that the power entrusted to him for calling out the 100,000 militia, was meant to be exercised only in the case of some great and general emergency, and by no means to be employed merely as

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garrisons or guards in ordinary cases: that there is no apprehension that England means either to declare or to commence war on us at the present moment, and that if the declaration shall be intended to originate with us, he may be assured of receiving timely notice, with the powers and the means of placing everything in safety before a state of actual danger commences; that nevertheless it is of great urgency that the quota of his State be prepared with all possible diligence, to be ready to march at a moment's warning, because by that time it is very possible, and scarcely improbable, that their services may have become actually requisite. Affectionate salutations.

TO DOCTOR WILLIAM EUSTIS.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1809.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December the 24th, and of the resolutions of the republican citizens of Boston, of the 19th of that month. These are worthy of the ancient character of the sons of Massachusetts, and of the spirit of concord with her sister States, which, and which alone, carried us successfully through the revolutionary war, and finally placed us under that national government, which constitutes the safety of every part, by uniting for its protection the powers of the whole. The moment for exerting these united powers, to repel the injuries of the bellig-

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erents of Europe, seems likely to be pressed upon us. They have interdicted our commerce with nearly the whole world. They have declared it shall be carried on with such places, in such articles, and in such measure only, as they shall dictate; thus prostrating all the principles of right which have hitherto protected it. After exhausting the cup of forbearance and conciliation to its dregs, we found it necessary, on behalf of that commerce, to take time to call it home into a state of safety, to put the towns and harbors which carry it on into a condition of defence, and to make further preparation for enforcing the redress of its wrongs, and restoring it to its rightful freedom. This required a certain measure of time, which, although not admitting specific limitation, must, from its avowed objects, have been obvious to all; and the progress actually made towards the accomplishment of these objects, proves it now to be near its term. While thus endeavoring to secure, and preparing to vindicate that commerce, the absurd opinion has been propagated, that this temporary and necessary arrangement was to be a permanent system, and was intended for its destruction. The sentiments expressed in the paper you were so kind as to enclose to me, show that those who have concurred in them have judged with more candor the intentions of their government, and are sufficiently aware of the tendency of the excitements and misrepresentations which have been practised on this occasion. And such, I am persuaded, will

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be the disposition of the citizens of Massachusetts at large, whenever truth can reach them. Associated with her sister States in a common government, the fundamental principle of which is, that the will of the majority is to prevail, sensible that, in the present difficulty, that will has been governed by no local interests or jealousies, that, to save permanent rights, temporary sacrifices were necessary, that these have fallen as impartially on all, as in a situation so peculiar they could be made to do, she will see in the existing measures a legitimate and honest exercise of the will and wisdom of the whole. And her citizens, faithful to themselves and their associates, will not, to avoid a transient pressure, yield to the seductions of enemies to their independence, foreign or domestic, and take a course equally subversive of their well-being, as of that of their brethren.

The approbation expressed by the republican citizens of the town of Boston, of the course pursued by the national government, is truly consoling to its members; and, encouraged by the declaration of the continuance of their confidence, and by the assurance of their support, they will continue to pursue the line of their high duties according to the best of their understandings, and with undeviating regard to the good of the whole. Permit me to avail myself of this occasion of tendering you personally the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

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TO THOMAS C. JAMES, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1809.

SIR,—I have received your favor of the 6th inst., informing me that the American Philosophical Society had been pleased, at their late election, unanimously to re-elect me president of the society. In desiring, in my letter to the vice-presidents, that I might be permitted to withdraw from that honor, I acted from a conscientious persuasion that I was keeping from that important station members whose position, as well as qualifications, would enable them to render more effectual services to the institution. But the society having thought proper again to name me, I shall obey it with dutifulness, and be ever anxious to avail myself of every occasion of being useful to them. I pray you to be so good as to communicate my thanks to them, with assurances of my devotion to their service, and to accept those of great esteem and respect for yourself personally.

TO DOCTOR MAESE.

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1809.

SIR,—The constant pressure of such business as will admit no delay, has prevented my sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 2d, and even now will confine me to the single question, for the answer to which you wait, before you take any

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step towards bringing forward the institution you propose for the advancement of the arts. That question is whether Congress would grant a charter of incorporation, and a sum for premiums annually? It has always been denied by the republican party in this country, that the Constitution had given the power of incorporation to Congress. On the establishment of the Bank of the United States, this was the great ground on which that establishment was combated; and the party prevailing supported it only on the argument of its being an incident to the power given them for raising money. On this ground it has been acquiesced in, and will probably be again acquiesced in, as subsequently confirmed by public opinion. But in no other instance have they ever exercised this power of incorporation out of this district, of which they are the ordinary legislature.

It is still more settled that among the purposes to which the Constitution permits them to apply money, the granting premiums or bounties is not enumerated, and there has never been a single instance of their doing it, although there has been a multiplicity of applications. The Constitution has left these encouragements to the separate States. I have in two or three messages recommended to Congress an amendment to the Constitution, which should extend their power to these objects. But nothing is yet done in it. I fear, therefore, that the institution you propose must rest on the patronage of the State in which it is

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to be. I wish I could have answered you more to my own mind, as well as yours; but truth is the first object. I salute you with esteem and respect.

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR, TO THE GOVERNORS,—PREPARED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, January 17, 1809.

SIR,—The pressure of the embargo, although sensibly felt by every description of our fellow citizens, has yet been cheerfully borne by most of them, under the conviction that it was a temporary evil, and a necessary one to save us from greater and more permanent evils,—the loss of property and surrender of rights. But it would have been more cheerfully borne, but for the knowledge that, while honest men were religiously observing it, the unprincipled along our seacoast and frontiers were fraudulently evading it; and that in some parts they had even dared to break through it openly, by an armed force too powerful to be opposed by the collector and his assistants. To put an end to this scandalous insubordination to the laws, the Legislature has authorized the President to empower proper persons to employ militia, for preventing or suppressing armed or riotous assemblages of persons resisting the custom house officers in the exercise of their duties, or opposing or violating the embargo laws. He sincerely hopes that during the short time which these restrictions are

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expected to continue, no other instances will take place of a crime of so deep a dye. But it is made his duty to take the measures necessary to meet it. He therefore requests you, as commanding officer of the militia of your State, to appoint some officer of the militia, of known respect for the laws, in or near to each port of entry within your State, with orders, when applied to by the collector of the district, to assemble immediately a sufficient force of his militia, and to employ them efficaciously to maintain the authority of the laws respecting the embargo, and that you notify to each collector the officer to whom, by your appointment, he is so to apply for aid when necessary. He has referred this appointment to your Excellency, because your knowledge of characters, or means of obtaining it, will enable you to select one who can be most confided in to exercise so serious a power, with all the discretion, the forbearance, the kindness even, which the enforcement of the law will possibly admit,—ever to bear in mind that the life of a citizen is never to be endangered, but as the last melancholy effort for the maintenance of order and obedience to the laws.

TO WASHINGTON BOYD.

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1809.

Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Boyd, and observes that the enclosed petition of Nicholas Kosieg, has been addressed to Judge

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Cranch, and yet is not recommended by him or the other judges who sat on the trial. They are so particularly qualified by having heard the evidence, to decide on the merits of the petition, that Thomas Jefferson has generally made the recommendation of judges the foundation of pardon, and sees no reason in the present case to depart from that rule. He assures Mr. Boyd of his esteem and respect.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JOHN TYLER.[1]

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1809.

SIR,—The Secretary of War has put into my hand your Excellency's letter of January 9th, covering one of December 15th from Captain Henry St. John Dixon, of the volunteer riflemen of the 105th regiment, offering the service of his company for one year. The term for which the offer is made shows it intended to be under the Act of Congress of February 24th, 1807, and not under that of March 30th, 1808, which is only for a service of six months under the law of 1807. The Governors were authorized and requested, on behalf of the President, to accept the offers made under that act, and to organize the corps when ready for it, officering it according to the laws of their State. This authority was given to your predecessor, and was considered as devolving on yourself. The authority and request are now renewed to you, and the letter of Captain Dixon

[1] Governor of Virginia.

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returned for that purpose. To this I will add another request, that you will be so good as to endeavor to have a return made to the War Office of all the corps of twelve-month volunteers which have been accepted in Virginia. They began immediately after the attack on the Chesapeake. I salute you with esteem and respect.

TO COLONEL DAVID HUMPHREYS.

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1809.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of December 12th, and to return you my thanks for the cloth furnished me. It came in good time, and does honor to your manufactory, being as good as any one would wish to wear in any country. Amidst the pressure of evils with which the belligerent edicts have afflicted us, some permanent good will arise; the spring given to manufactures will have durable effects. Knowing most of my own State, I can affirm with confidence that were free intercourse opened again to-morrow, she would never again import one-half of the coarse goods which she has done down to the date of the edicts. These will be made in our families. For finer goods we must resort to the larger manufactories established in the towns. Some jealousy of this spirit of manufacture seems excited among commercial men. It would have been as just when we first began to make our own ploughs and hoes. They have certainly lost

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the profit of bringing these from a foreign country. My idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw material. I do not think it fair in the ship-owners to say we ought not to make our own axes, nails, etc., here, that they may have the benefit of carrying the iron to Europe, and bringing back the axes, nails, etc. Our agriculture will still afford surplus produce enough to employ a due proportion of navigation. Wishing every possible success to your undertaking, as well for your personal as the public benefit, I salute you with assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO THOMAS LEIPER.

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 15th was duly received, and before that, Towers' book, which you had been so kind as to send me, had come to hand, for which I pray you to receive my thanks. You judge rightly that *here* I have no time to read. A cursory view of the book shows me that the author is a man of much learning in his line. I have heard of some other late writer, (the name I forget,) who has undertaken to prove contrary events from the same sources; and particularly that England is not to be put down; and that this is the favorite author in that country. As to myself, my religious reading has long been confined to the moral branch of religion,

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which is the same in all religions; while in that branch which consists of dogmas, all differ, all have a different set. The former instructs us how to live well and worthily in society; the latter are made to interest our minds in the support of the teachers who inculcate them. Hence, for one sermon on a moral subject, you hear ten on the dogmas of the sect. However, religion is not the subject for you and me; neither of us know the religious opinions of the other; that is a matter between our Maker and ourselves. We understand each other better in politics, to which therefore I will proceed. The House of Representatives passed last night a bill for the meeting of Congress on the 22d of May. This substantially decides the course they mean to pursue; that is, to let the embargo continue till then, when it will cease, and letters of marque and reprisal be issued against such nations as shall not then have repealed their obnoxious edicts. The great majority seem to have made up their minds on this, while there is considerable diversity of opinion on the details of preparation; to wit: naval force, volunteers, army, non-intercourse, etc. I write freely to you, because I know that in stating facts, you will not quote names. You know that every syllable uttered in my name becomes a text for the federalists to torment the public mind on by their paraphrases and perversions. I have lately inculcated the encouragement of manufactures to the extent of our own consumption at least, in all articles of

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which we raise the raw material. On this the federal papers and meetings have sounded the alarm of Chinese policy, destruction of commerce, etc.; that is to say, the iron which we make must not be wrought here into ploughs, axes, hoes, etc., in order that the ship-owner may have the profit of carrying it to Europe, and bringing it back in a manufactured form, as if after manufacturing our own raw materials for our own use, there would not be a surplus produce sufficient to employ a due proportion of navigation in carrying it to market and exchanging it for those articles of which we have not the raw material. Yet this absurd hue and cry has contributed much to federalize New England, their doctrine goes to the sacrificing agriculture and manufactures to commerce; to the calling all our people from the interior country to the sea-shore to turn merchants, and to convert this great agricultural country into a city of Amsterdam. But I trust the good sense of our country will see that its greatest prosperity depends on a due balance between agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and not in this protuberant navigation which has kept us in hot water from the commencement of our government, and is now engaging us in war. That this may be avoided, if it can be done without a surrender of rights, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

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TO COLONEL CHARLES SIMMS, COLLECTOR.

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1809.

SIR,—I received last night your letter of yesterday, and this being a day in which all the offices are shut, and the case admitting no delay, I enclose you a special order, directly from myself, to apply for aid of the militia adjacent to the vessel, to enable you to do your duty as to the sloop loading with flour. But I must desire that, so far as the agency of the militia be employed, it may be with the utmost discretion, and with no act of force beyond what shall be necessary to maintain obedience to the laws, using neither deeds nor words unnecessarily offensive. I salute you with respect.

[*The Order Enclosed.*]

THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

January, 1809.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO WIT,—Information being received that a sloop, said to be of one of the eastern States, of about 1,500 barrels burden, is taking in flour in the Bay of Occoquan in Virginia, with intention to violate the several embargo laws, and the urgency of the case not admitting the delay of the ordinary course of proceeding through the orders of the Governors of the States, I have therefore thought proper to issue these my special orders to the militia officers of the counties of Fairfax,

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Prince William, or of any other county of Virginia, or of Maryland, adjacent to the river Potomac or any of its waters, wherein the said vessel may be found, and to such particular officer especially to whom these my orders shall be presented by any collector of the customs, for any district on the said river or its waters, or by any person acting under their authority, forthwith on receiving notice, to call out such portion of the militia under his or their command as shall be sufficient, and to proceed with the same, in aid of the said collector, to take possession of the said sloop and her cargo, wheresoever found in the said waters, and to detain the same until she shall be liberated according to law, for which this shall be his and their warrant.

Given under my hand at Washington, this 22d day of January, 1809.

TO COLONEL JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, January 28, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 18th was received in due time, and the answer has been delayed as well by a pressure of business, as by the expectation of your absence from Richmond.

The idea of sending a special mission to France or England is not entertained at all here. After so little attention to us from the former, and so insulting an answer from Canning, such a mark of respect as an extraordinary mission, would be a degradation against

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which all minds revolt here. The idea was hazarded in the House of Representatives a few days ago, by a member, and an approbation expressed by another, but rejected indignantly by every other person who spoke, and very generally in conversation by all others; and I am satisfied such a proposition would get no vote in the Senate. The course the Legislature means to pursue, may be inferred from the act now passed for a meeting in May, and a proposition before them for repealing the embargo in June, and then resuming and maintaining by force our right of navigation. There will be considerable opposition to this last proposition, not only from the federalists, old and new, who oppose everything, but from sound members of the majority. Yet it is believed it will obtain a good majority, and that it is the only proposition which can be devised that could obtain a majority of any kind. Final propositions will, therefore, be soon despatched to both the belligerents through the resident ministers, so that their answers will be received before the meeting in May, and will decide what is to be done. This last trial for peace is not thought desperate. If, as is expected, Bonaparte should be successful in Spain, however every virtuous and liberal sentiment revolts at it, it may induce both powers to be more accommodating with us. England will see here the only asylum for her commerce and manufactures, worth more to her than her orders of council. And Bonaparte, having Spain at his feet, will look immediately to the

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Spanish colonies, and think our neutrality cheaply purchased by a repeal of the illegal parts of his decrees, with perhaps the Floridas thrown into the bargain. Should a change in the aspect of affairs in Europe produce this disposition in both powers, our peace and prosperity may be revived and long continue. Otherwise, we must again take the tented field, as we did in 1776 under more inauspicious circumstances.

There never has been a situation of the world before, in which such endeavors as we have made would not have secured our peace. It is probable there never will be such another. If we go to war now, I fear we may renounce forever the hope of seeing an end of our national debt. If we can keep at peace eight years longer, our income, liberated from death, will be adequate to any war, without new taxes or loans, and our position and increasing strength put us *hors d'insulte* from any nation. I am now so near the moment of retiring, that I take no part in affairs beyond the expression of an opinion. I think it fair that my successor should now originate those measures of which he will be charged with the execution and responsibility, and that it is my duty to clothe them with the forms of authority. Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal, and restore me to a scene of tranquillity, amidst my family and friends, more congenial to my age and natural inclinations. In that situation, it will always be a pleasure to me to see you, and to

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repeat to you the assurances of my constant friendship and respect.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER.[1]

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1809.

SIR,—The extraordinary and critical situation of our foreign relations rendering it necessary, in the opinion of the National Legislature, that their next recess should be short, they have passed an act for meeting on the fourth Monday of May, of which I enclose you a copy. As the election of representatives for the State of Tennessee would not, in the ordinary course, be in time for this meeting, I have thought it my duty to make you a special communication of this law. That every State should be represented in the great council of the nation, is not only the interest of each, but of the whole united, who have a right to be aided by the collective wisdom and information of the whole, in questions which are to decide on their future well-being. I trust that your Excellency will deem it incumbent on you to call an immediate meeting of your Legislature, in order to put it in their power to fulfil this high duty, by making special and timely provision for the representation of their State at the ensuing meeting of Congress; to which measures I am bound earnestly to exhort yourself and them. I am not insensible of the personal inconvenience of this special call to

[1] Governor of Tennessee.

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the members composing the Legislature of so extensive a State; but neither will I do them the injustice to doubt their being ready to make much greater sacrifices for the common safety, should the course of events still lead to a call for them. I tender to your Excellency the assurances of my high respect and consideration.

TO MONSIEUR AMELOT DE LA CROIX, BOSTON.

WASHINGTON, February 3, 1809.

SIR,—I received in due time your favor of December 28th, covering the tragedy of the unfortunate Louis XVI., and I am sure you are too reasonable not to have ascribed the delay of answer which has intervened, to its true cause, the never-ceasing pressure of business which cannot be deferred. I have read the piece with great satisfaction. I recognize in Louis that purity of virtue and sincere patriotism which I knew made a part of his real character. The sound good sense and exalted sentiments he is made to utter, were proper to his character, whether actually a part of it or not. I say nothing of style, not doubting its merit, and conscious I am no judge of it in a foreign language. I believe it impossible, in any but our native tongue, to be so thoroughly sensible of the delicacy of style, which constitutes an essential merit in poetical composition, as to criticise them with correctness.

I wish that, in the prefatory piece, the character

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which is the subject of it, did not fall still further short of its representation than that of the principal personage in the main piece. I have never claimed any other merit than of good intentions, sensible that in the choice of measures, error of judgment has too often had its influence; and with whatever indulgence my countrymen as well as yourself, have been so kind as to view my course, yet they would certainly not know me in the picture here drawn, and would, I fear, say in the words of the poet, "Praise undeserved is satire in disguise." Were, therefore, the piece to be prepared for the press, I should certainly entreat you to revise that part with a severe eye.

I believe I mentioned to you, on a former occasion, that the late act of Congress for raising additional troops required that the officers should all be citizens of the United States. Should there be war, however, I am persuaded this policy must be abandoned, and that we must avail ourselves of the experience of other nations, in certain lines of service at least. In that expectation I shall leave with my successor the papers in my possession, from which he may be sensible of the benefits he may receive from your aid.

I pray you to accept my salutations and assurances of respect.

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TO CAPTAIN ARMISTEAD T. MASON.

WASHINGTON, February 3, 1809.

SIR,—Your letter of January 7th came to my hand on the 23d only of that month, since which the pressure of business which could not be delayed, has prevented my sooner acknowledging its receipt. The offer of service therein made by the subscribing members of the troop of cavalry, attached to the 57th regiment of Virginia militia under your command, is worthy of that ardent love of our country which, I am persuaded, will distinguish its citizens, whenever its wrongs shall call them to the field. I tender, therefore, to the subscribing officers and members of the troop that acknowledgment of their merit which is so justly due. At the same time, I must observe that, considering their offer of service as made under the law of 1808, the power of accepting it is thereby given to the governor of the State, to whom their address for acceptance is of course to be made. A bill for raising a body of volunteers is now on its progress through Congress. Should that be passed, which will soon be known, it may perhaps be more eligible for the subscribing members to place themselves under the conditions of that law. I pray you to accept, for them and yourself, the assurances of my esteem and respect.

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TO CAPTAIN ARMISTEAD T. MASON.

WASHINGTON, February 3, 1809.

SIR,—I enclose you a letter in answer to that in which you offer the services of the subscribing members of your troop of cavalry. I make this separate and private answer to the very friendly letter addressed to me in your own name only, and which accompanied the former. The relation which you bear to my most valued and worthy friend Stevens T. Mason, gives you a just title to communicate your wishes to me, and will insure to you any services I can render you. The time of my continuance in office is now so short, that it will scarcely fall to my lot to be useful to you, but I shall leave your letter in the hands of my successor, than whom nobody cherishes more the memory of your father. If the bill mentioned in my other letter passes, there will be little difficulty in your obtaining appointment. The engagements that proposes are to be for one year from the time the volunteers are called on, which will not be till war is declared, or inevitable, and from that corps a transfer will be easy into the regular troops, which in that case will be to be raised.

I am happy in every testimony from my fellow citizens, that my conduct in the discharge of my duties to them, has given them satisfaction. Accept my thanks for the very kind terms in which you have been pleased to express your dispositions towards myself, and with a request that you will be so good as

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to present my high respects to Mrs. Mason, with whom I have had the happiness of some acquaintance, I salute you with friendship and esteem.

TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, February 7, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I thought Congress had taken their ground firmly for continuing their embargo till June, and then war. But a sudden and unaccountable revolution of opinion took place the last week, chiefly among the New England and New York members, and in a kind of panic they voted the 4th of March for removing the embargo, and by such a majority as gave all reason to believe they would not agree either to war or non-intercourse. This, too, was after we had become satisfied that the Essex Junto had found their expectation desperate, of inducing the people there to either separation or forcible opposition. The majority of Congress, however, has now rallied to the removing the embargo on the 4th of March, non-intercourse with *France* and *Great Britain*, trade everywhere else, and continuing war preparations. The further details are not yet settled, but I believe it is perfectly certain that the embargo will be taken off the 4th of March. Present my warmest affections to my dearest Martha, and the young ones, and accept the assurances of them to yourself.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR JOHN TYLER.

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1809.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of the 11th, covering resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia on our foreign relations, and an address to myself, on my approaching retirement; and I ask leave, through the same channel, to return the enclosed answer. Nothing can give me more sincere satisfaction than this kind and honorable testimony from the General Assembly of my native State,—a State in which I have drawn my first and shall draw my latest breath, and to which I retire with inexpressible pleasure. I am equally sensible of your goodness, in the approving terms in which you have made this communication. The concurrence of a veteran patriot, who from the first dawn of the revolution to this day has pursued unchangeably the same honest course, cannot but be flattering to his fellow laborers. I pray you to accept the assurances of my sincere esteem and respect.

TO BENJAMIN STODDART.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of January 25th had been duly received, and I was waiting in the hope I might find a moment of less pressure in which I might answer it somewhat in detail, when that of the 14th inst. came to hand. Finding that, instead of any relax-

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ation of business, it crowds more on me as I approach my departure. I can only indulge myself in a very brief reply. As to the rights of the United States as a neutral power, our opinions are very different, mine being that when two nations go to war, it does not abridge the rights of neutral nations but in the two articles of blockade and contraband of war. But on this subject we have both probably read and thought so much as to have made up our minds, and it is not likely that either can make a convert of the other. With respect to the interests of the United States in this exuberant commerce which is now bringing war on us, we concur perfectly. It brings us into collision with other powers in every sea, and will force us into every war of the European powers. The converting this great agricultural country into a city of Amsterdam,—a mere headquarters for carrying on the commerce of all nations with one another, is too absurd. Yet this is the real object of the drawback system,—it enriches a few individuals, but lessens the stock of native productions, by withdrawing from them all the hands thus employed; it is essentially interesting to us to have shipping and seamen enough to carry our surplus produce to market; but beyond that, I do not think we are bound to give it encouragement by drawbacks or other premiums. I wish you may be right in supposing that the trading States would now be willing to give up the drawbacks, and to denationalize all ships taking foreign articles on board for any other

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destination than the United States, on being secured by discriminating duties, or otherwise in the exclusive carryage of the produce of the United States. I should doubt it. Were such a proposition to come *from them*, I presume it would meet with little difficulty. Otherwise, I suppose it must wait till peace, when the right of drawback will be less valued than the exclusive carryage of our own produce.

No apology was necessary for the letters you were so kind as to write me on this subject. I have always received with thankfulness the ideas of judicious persons on subjects interesting to the public. In the present case, I thought I should better fulfil your objects by communicating your letters to my successor, to whose views I have thought it my duty to give the lead, ever since his designation, as to all matters which he would have to execute. Nothing will probably be done on this subject in the few days between this and my retirement; and in that situation I shall certainly divorce myself from all part in political affairs. To get rid of them is the principal object of my retirement, and the first thing necessary to the happiness which, you justly observe, it is in vain to look for in any other situation. I pray you to accept my salutations, and assurances of respect.

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TO JOHN HOLLINS.

WASHINGTON, February 19, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—A little transaction of mine, as innocent a one as I ever entered into, and where an improper construction was never less expected, is making some noise, I observe, in your city. I beg leave to explain it to you, because I mean to ask your agency in it. The last year, the Agricultural Society of Paris, of which I am a member, having had a plough presented to them, which, on trial with a graduated instrument, did equal work with half the force of their best ploughs, they thought it would be a benefit to mankind to communicate it. They accordingly sent one to me, with a view to its being made known here, and they sent one to the Duke of Bedford also, who is one of their members, to be made use of for England, although the two nations were then at war. By the Mentor, now going to France, I have given permission to two individuals in Delaware and New York, to import two parcels of Merino sheep from France, which they have procured there, and to some gentlemen in Boston, to import a very valuable machine which spins cotton, wool, and flax equally. The last spring, the Society informed me they were cultivating the cotton of the Levant and other parts of the Mediterranean, and wished to try also that of our southern States. I immediately got a friend to have two tierces of seed forwarded to me. They were consigned to Messrs.

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Falls and Brown of Baltimore, and notice of it being given me, I immediately wrote to them to re-ship them to New York, to be sent by the Mentor. Their first object was to make a show of my letter, as something very criminal, and to carry the subject into the newspapers. I had, on a like request, some time ago, (but before the embargo,) from the President of the Board of Agriculture of London, of which I am also a member, to send them some of the genuine May wheat of Virginia, forwarded to them two or three barrels of it. General Washington, in his time, received from the same Society the seed of the perennial succory, which Arthur Young had carried over from France to England, and I have since received from a member of it the seed of the famous turnip of Sweden, now so well known here. I mention these things, to show the nature of the correspondence which is carried on between societies instituted for the benevolent purpose of communicating to all parts of the world whatever useful is discovered in any one of them. These societies are always in peace, however their nations may be at war. Like the republic of letters, they form a great fraternity spreading over the whole earth, and their correspondence is never interrupted by any civilized nation. Vaccination has been a late and remarkable instance of the liberal diffusion of a blessing newly discovered. It is really painful, it is mortifying, to be obliged to note these things, which are known to every one who knows anything, and felt with approbation by every

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one who has any feeling. But we have a faction, to whose hostile passions the torture even of right into wrong is a delicious gratification. Their malice I have long learned to disregard, their censure to deem praise. But I observe that some republicans are not satisfied (even while we are receiving liberally from others) that this small return should be made. They will think more justly at another day; but, in the meantime, I wish to avoid offence. My prayer to you, therefore, is, that you will be so good, under the enclosed order, as to receive these two tierces of seed from Falls and Brown, and pay them their disbursements for freight, etc., which I will immediately remit you on knowing the amount. Of the seed, when received, be so good as to make manure for your garden. When rotted with a due mixture of stable manure or earth, it is the best in the world. I rely on your friendship to excuse this trouble, it being necessary I should not commit myself again to persons of whose honor, or the want of it, I know nothing.

Accept the assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

TO M. HENRI GREGOIRE, EVEQUE ET SENATEUR À PARIS.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1809.

SIR,—I have received the favor of your letter of August 17th, and with it the volume you were so kind

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as to send me on the "Literature of Negroes." Be assured that no person living wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed on the grade of understanding allotted to them by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves. My doubts were the result of personal observation on the limited sphere of my own State, where the opportunities for the development of their genius were not favorable, and those of exercising it still less so. I expressed them therefore with great hesitation; but whatever be their degree of talent it is no measure of their rights. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others. On this subject they are gaining daily in the opinions of nations, and hopeful advances are making towards their re-establishment on an equal footing with the other colors of the human family. I pray you therefore to accept my thanks for the many instances you have enabled me to observe of respectable intelligence in that race of men, which cannot fail to have effect in hastening the day of their relief; and to be assured of the sentiments of high and just esteem and consideration which I tender to yourself with all sincerity.

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TO M. RUELLE, ANCIEN AGENT DIPLOMATIQUE, RUE D'ARGENTINE, NO. 38, À PARIS.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1809.

SIR,—I have duly received your favors of May 29th and July 11th, and with this last a copy of your Constitution with the new augmentations. Our usages not permitting me to present it formally to the Legislature of the nation, I have deposited it in their library, where all its members will have an opportunity of profiting of its truths, and it will be, as you desire, in a depôt beyond the reach of violence. No interests are dearer to men than those which ought to be secured to them by their form of government, and none deserve better of them than those who contribute to the amelioration of that form. The consciousness of having deserved well of mankind for your endeavors to be useful to them in this line, will be itself a high reward, to which will be added the homage of those who shall have reaped the benefits of them. I ask permission on my part to tender you the assurances of my esteem and great respect.

TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,—By yesterday's mail I learn that it would be the desire of many of the good citizens of our country to meet me on the road on my return

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home, as a manifestation of their good will. But it is quite impossible for me to ascertain the day on which I shall leave this. The accumulated business at the close of a session will prevent my making any preparation for my departure till after the 4th of March. After that, the arrangement of papers and business to be delivered over to my successor, the winding up my own affairs, and clearing out from this place, will employ me for several days, (I cannot conjecture even how many,) so as to render the commencement, and consequently the termination of my journey, altogether uncertain. But it is a sufficient happiness to me to know that my fellow citizens of the country generally entertain for me the kind sentiments which have prompted this proposition, without giving to so many the trouble of leaving their homes to meet a single individual. I shall have opportunities of taking them individually by the hand at our court-house and other public places, and of exchanging assurances of mutual esteem. Certainly it is the greatest consolation to me to know, that in returning to the bosom of my native country, I shall be again in the midst of their kind affections: and I can say with truth that my return to them will make me happier than I have been since I left them. Nothing will be wanting on my part to merit the continuance of their good will. The House of Representatives passed yesterday, by a vote of 81 to 40, the bill from the Senate repealing the embargo the 4th of March, except against Great Britain and

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France and their dependencies, establishing a non-intercourse with them, and having struck out the clause for letters of marque and reprisal, which it is thought the Senate will still endeavor to reinstate. I send you a paper containing the last Spanish news. Yours affectionately.

TO MESSRS. GREGG AND LEIB, SENATORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.—MR. SMILIE.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1809.

GENTLEMEN,—I have just received the enclosed with a request that I would lay it before both Houses of Congress. But I have never presumed to place myself between the Legislative Houses and those who have a constitutional right to address them directly. I take the liberty therefore of enclosing the paper to you, that you may do therein what in your judgment shall best comport with expediency and propriety.

I pray you to be assured of my high consideration.

TO MONSIEUR DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of May 2. ; since which I have received yours of May the 25th, June the 1st, July the 23d, 24th, and September the 5th, and distributed the two pamphlets according to your

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desire. They are read with the delight which everything from your pen gives.

After using every effort which could prevent or delay our being entangled in the war of Europe, that seems now our only resource. The edicts of the two belligerents, forbidding us to be seen on the ocean, we met by an embargo. This gave us time to call home our seamen, ships and property, to levy men and put our seaports into a certain state of defence. We have now taken off the embargo, except as to France and England and their territories, because fifty millions of exports, annually sacrificed, are the treble of what war would cost us; besides, that by war we should take something, and lose less than at present. But to give you a true description of the state of things here, I must refer you to Mr. Coles, the bearer of this, my secretary, a most worthy, intelligent and well-informed young man, whom I recommend to your notice, and conversation on our affairs. His discretion and fidelity may be relied on. I expect he will find you with Spain at your feet, but England still afloat, and a barrier to the Spanish colonies. But all these concerns I am now leaving to be settled by my friend Mr. Madison. Within a few days I retire to my family, my books and farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friends still buffeting the storm with anxiety indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of

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power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived, have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation. I leave everything in the hands of men so able to take care of them, that if we are destined to meet misfortunes, it will be because no human wisdom could avert them. Should you return to the United States, perhaps your curiosity may lead you to visit the hermit of Monticello. He will receive you with affection and delight; hailing you in the meantime with his affectionate salutations and assurances of constant esteem and respect.

P. S. If you return to us, bring a couple of pair of true-bred shepherd's dogs. You will add a valuable possession to a country now beginning to pay great attention to the raising sheep.

TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—This will be handed you by Mr. Coles, the bearer of public despatches, by an *aviso*. He has lived with me as Secretary, is my wealthy neighbor at Monticello, and worthy of all confidence. His

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intimate knowledge of our situation has induced us to send him, because he will be a full supplement as to all those things which cannot be detailed in writing. He can possess you of our present situation much more intimately than you can understand it from letters. The belligerent edicts rendered our embargo necessary to call home our ships, our seamen, and property. We expected some effect, too, from the coercion of interest. Some it has had; but much less on account of evasions, and domestic opposition to it. After fifteen months' continuance it is now discontinued, because, losing $50,000,000 of exports annually by it, it costs more than war, which might be carried on for a third of that, besides what might be got by reprisal. War therefore must follow if the edicts are not repealed before the meeting of Congress in May. You have thought it advisable sooner to take possession of adjacent territories. But we know that they are ours the first moment that any war is forced upon us for other causes, that we are at hand to anticipate their possession, if attempted by any other power, and, in the meantime, we are lengthening the term of our prosperity, liberating our revenues, and increasing our power. I suppose Napoleon will get possession of Spain; but her colonies will deliver themselves to any member of the Bourbon family. Perhaps Mexico will choose its sovereign within itself. He will find them much more difficult to subdue than Austria or Prussia; because an enemy (even in peace an enemy) pos-

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sesses the element over which he is to pass to get at them; and a more powerful enemy (climate) will soon mow down his armies after arrival. This will be, without any doubt, the most difficult enterprise the emperor has ever undertaken. He may subdue the small colonies; he never can the old and strong; and the former will break off from him the first war he has again with a naval power.

I thank you for having procured for me the dynamometer which I have safely received, as well as the plough. Mr. Coles will reimburse what you were so kind as to advance for me on that account. The letters which will be written you by the new Secretary of State (Mr. Smith) will say to you what is meant to be official. For although I too have written on politics, it is merely as a private individual, which I am now happily become. Within two or three days I retire from scenes of difficulty, anxiety, and of contending passions, to the elysium of domestic affections, and the irresponsible direction of my own affairs. Safe in port myself, I shall look anxiously at my friends still buffeting the storm, and wish you all safe in port also. With my prayers for your happiness and prosperity, accept the assurances of my sincere friendship and great respect.

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TO BARON ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I received safely your letter of May 30th, and with it your astronomical work and political essay on the kingdom of New Spain, for which I return you my sincere thanks. I had before heard that this work had begun to appear, and the specimen I have received proves that it will not disappoint the expectations of the learned. Besides making known to us one of the most singular and interesting countries on the globe, one almost locked up from the knowledge of man hitherto, precious additions will be made to our stock of physical science, in many of its parts. We shall bear to you therefore the honorable testimony that you have deserved well of the republic of letters.

You mention that you had before written other letters to me. Be assured I have never received a single one, or I should not have failed to make my acknowledgments of it. Indeed I have not waited for that, but for the certain information, which I had not, of the place where you might be. Your letter of May 30th first gave me that information. You have wisely located yourself in the focus of the science of Europe. I am held by the cords of love to my family and country, or I should certainly join you. Within a few days I shall now bury myself in the groves of Monticello, and become a mere spectator of the passing events. On politics I will say nothing,

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because I would not implicate you by addressing to you the republican ideas of America, deemed horrible heresies by the royalism of Europe. You will know before this reaches you, that Mr. Madison is my successor. This ensures to us a wise and honest administration. I salute you with sincere friendship and respect.

TO WILLIAM SHORT.

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—It is with much concern I inform you that the Senate has negatived your appointment. We thought it best to keep back the nomination to the close of the session, that the mission might remain secret as long as possible, which you know was our purpose from the beginning. It was then sent in with an explanation of its object and motives. We took for granted, if any hesitation should arise, that the Senate would take time, and that our friends in that body would make inquiries of us, and give us the opportunity of explaining and removing objections. But to our great surprise, and with an unexampled precipitancy, they rejected it at once. This reception of the last of my official communications to them, could not be unfelt, nor were the causes of it spoken out by them. Under this uncertainty, Mr. Madison, on his entering into office, proposed another person (John Q. Adams). He also was negatived, and they adjourned *sine die*. Our subsequent infor-

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mation was that, on your nomination, your long absence from this country, and their idea that you do not intend to return to it, had very sensible weight; but that all other motives were superseded by an unwillingness to extend our diplomatic connections, and a desire even to recall the foreign ministers we already have. All were sensible of the great virtues, the high character, the powerful influence, and valuable friendship of the emperor. But riveted to the system of unentanglement with Europe, they declined the proposition. On this subject you will receive the official explanations from Mr. Smith, the Secretary of State. I pray you to place me *rectus in curia* in this business with the emperor, and to assure him that I carry into my retirement the highest veneration for his virtues, and fondly cherish the belief that his dispositions and power are destined by heaven to better, in some degree at least, the condition of oppressed man.

I have nothing new to inform you as to your private friends or acquaintances. Our embargo has worked hard. It has in fact federalized three of the New England States. Connecticut you know was so before. We have substituted for it a non-intercourse with France and England and their dependencies, and a trade to all other places. It is probable the belligerents will take our vessels under their edicts, in which case we shall probably declare war against them.

I write this in the midst of packing and preparing

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for my departure, of visits of leave, and interruptions of every kind. I must therefore conclude with my affectionate adieu to you, and assurances of my constant attachment and respect.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, March 17, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—On opening my letters from France, in the moment of my departure from Washington, I found from their signatures that they were from literary characters, except one from Mr. Short, which mentioned in the outset that it was private, and that his public communications were in the letter to the Secretary of State, which I sent you. I find, however, on reading his letter to me (which I did not do till I got home) a passage of some length proper to be communicated to you, and which I have therefore extracted.

I had a very fatiguing journey, having found the roads excessively bad, although I have seen them worse. The last three days I found it better to be on horseback, and travelled eight hours through as disagreeable a snow storm as I was ever in. Feeling no inconvenience from the expedition but fatigue, I have more confidence in my *vis vitæ* than I had before entertained. The spring is remarkably backward. No oats sown, not much tobacco seed, and little done in the gardens. Wheat has suffered con-

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siderably. No vegetation visible yet but the red maple, weeping willow and lilac. Flour is said to be at eight dollars at Richmond, and all produce is hurrying down.

I feel great anxiety for the occurrences of the ensuing four or five months. If peace can be preserved, I hope and trust you will have a smooth administration. I know no government which would be so embarrassing in war as ours. This would proceed very much from the lying and licentious character of our papers; but much, also, from the wonderful credulity of the members of Congress in the floating lies of the day. And in this no experience seems to correct them. I have never seen a Congress during the last eight years, a great majority of which I would not implicitly have relied on in any question, could their minds have been purged of all errors of fact. The evil, too, increases greatly with the protraction of the session, and I apprehend, in case of war, their session would have a tendency to become permanent. It is much, therefore, to be desired that war may be avoided, if circumstances will admit. Nor in the present maniac s ate of Europe, should I estimate the point of honor by the ordinary scale. I believe we shall, on the contrary, have credit with the world, for having made the avoidance of being engaged in the present unexampled war, our first object. War, however, may become a less losing business than unresisted depredation. With every

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wish that events may be propitious to your administration, I salute you with sincere affection and every sympathy of the heart.

TO WILLIAM M'ANDLESS, ESQ., PITTSBURG.

MONTICELLO, March 29, 1809.

SIR,—I received on the evening of the 1st of March the resolution enclosed in your letter of February 20th, for the purpose of being laid before both Houses of Congress. Usage, and perhaps sound principle, not permitting the President to place himself between the representatives and their constituents, who have a right to address their Legislature directly, I delivered the next day a copy of your resolutions to a member of Pennsylvania in each House of Congress. But as that body was to rise on the day ensuing that, the mass of indispensable business crowding on the last moments of the session scarcely admitted the opportunity of a compliance with your wishes.

I avail myself of this occasion of returning sincere thanks for the kind dispositions towards myself expressed in your letter, and for the sentiments which it conveys, of approbation of my conduct in the administration of the public affairs. If that conduct has met the general approbation of my country, it is the highest reward I can receive; and I shall ever feel towards them that gratitude which the confidence they have favored me with so eminently calls for. Accept for yourself the assurances of my high respect.

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TO THE INHABITANTS OF ALBEMARLE COUNTY, IN VIRGINIA.

MONTICELLO, April 3, 1809.

Returning to the scenes of my birth and early life, to the society of those with whom I was raised, and who have been ever dear to me, I receive, fellow citizens and neighbors, with inexpressible pleasure, the cordial welcome you are so good as to give me. Long absent on duties which the history of a wonderful era made incumbent on those called to them, the pomp, the turmoil, the bustle and splendor of office, have drawn but deeper sighs for the tranquil and irresponsible occupations of private life, for the enjoyment of an affectionate intercourse with you, my neighbors and friends, and the endearments of family love, which nature has given us all, as the sweetener of every hour. For these I gladly lay down the distressing burden of power, and seek, with my fellow citizens, repose and safety under the watchful cares, the labors and perplexities of younger and abler minds. The anxieties you express to administer to my happiness, do, of themselves, confer that happiness; and the measure will be complete, if my endeavors to fulfil my duties in the several public stations to which I have been called, have obtained for me the approbation of my country. The part which I have acted on the theatre of public life, has been before them; and to their sentence I submit it; but the testimony of my native county,

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of the individuals who have known me in private life, to my conduct in its various duties and relations, is the more grateful, as proceeding from eye witnesses and observers, from triers of the vicinage. Of you, then, my neighbors, I may ask, in the face of the world, "whose ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed, or of whose hand have I received a bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?" On your verdict I rest with conscious security. Your wishes for my happiness are received with just sensibility, and I offer sincere prayers for your own welfare and prosperity.

TO GOVERNOR JAMES JAY.

MONTICELLO, April 7, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of February 27th came to hand on the 3d of March. The occupations of the moment and of those which have followed must be my apology for this late acknowledgment. The plan of civilizing the Indians is undoubtedly a great improvement on the ancient and totally ineffectual one of beginning with religious missionaries. Our experience has shown that this must be the last step of the process. The following is what has been successful: 1st, to raise cattle, etc., and thereby acquire a knowledge of the value of property; 2d, arithmetic, to calculate that value; 3d, writing, to keep accounts, and here they begin to enclose farms, and the men to labor, the women to spin and weave; 4th, to read

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"Æsop's Fables" and "Robinson Crusoe" are their first delight. The Creeks and Cherokees are advanced thus far, and the Cherokees are now instituting a regular government.

An equilibrium of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, is certainly become essential to our independence. Manufactures, sufficient for our own consumption, of what we raise the raw material (and no more). Commerce sufficient to carry the surplus produce of agriculture, beyond our own consumption, to a market for exchanging it for articles we cannot raise (and no more). These are the true limits of manufactures and commerce. To go beyond them is to increase our dependence on foreign nations, and our liability to war.

These three important branches of human industry will then grow together, and be really handmaids to each other. I salute you with great respect and esteem.

TO COLONEL LARKIN SMITH.

MONTICELLO, April 15, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your very friendly letter of March 28th, and am extremely sensible to the kind spirit it breathes. To be praised by those who themselves deserve all praise, is a gratification of high order. Their approbation who, having been high in office themselves, have information and talents to guide their judgment, is a consolation

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deeply felt. A conscientious devotion to republican government, like charity in religion, has obtained for me much indulgence from my fellow citizens, and the aid of able counsellors has guided me through many difficulties which have occurred. The troubles in the East have been produced by English agitators, operating on the selfish spirit of commerce, which knows no country, and feels no passion or principle but that of gain. The inordinate extent given it among us by our becoming the factors of the whole world, has enabled it to control the agricultural and manufacturing interests. When a change of circumstances shall reduce it to an equilibrium with these, to the carrying *our* produce only, to be exchanged for *our* wants, it will return to a wholesome condition for the body politic, and that beyond which it should never more be encouraged to go. The repeal of the drawback system will either effect this, or bring sufficient sums into the treasury to meet the wars we shall bring on by our covering every sea with our vessels. But this must be the work of peace. The correction will be after my day, as the error originated before it. I thank you sincerely for your kind good wishes, and offer my prayers for your health and welfare, with every assurance of my great esteem and respect.

P. S. I thank you for the information of your letter of the 4th, this moment received. I sincerely wish the British orders may be repealed. If they are, it

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will be because the nation will not otherwise let the ministers keep their places. Their object has unquestionably been fixed to establish the Algerine system, and to maintain their possession of the ocean by a system of piracy against all nations.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, April 19, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge your favor of the 9th, and to thank you for the political information it contained. Reading the newspapers but little and that little but as the romance of the day, a word of truth now and then comes like the drop of water on the tongue of Dives. If the British ministry are changing their policy towards us, it is because their nation, or rather the city of London, which is the nation to them, is shaken as usual, by the late reverses in Spain. I have for some time been persuaded that the government of England was systematically decided to claim a dominion of the sea, and to levy contributions on all nations, by their licenses to navigate, in order to maintain that dominion to which their own resources are inadequate. The mobs of their cities are unprincipled enough to support this policy in prosperous times, but change with the tide of fortune, and the ministers, to keep their places, change with them. I wish Mr. Oakley may not embarrass you with his conditions of revoking

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the orders of council. Enough of the non-importation law should be reserved, 1st, to pinch them into a relinquishment of impressments, and 2d, to support those manufacturing establishments which their orders, and our interests, forced us to make.

I suppose the conquest of Spain will soon force a delicate question on you as to the Floridas and Cuba, which will offer themselves to you. Napoleon will certainly give his consent without difficulty to our receiving the Floridas, and with some difficulty possibly Cuba. And though he will disregard the obligation whenever he thinks he can break it with success, yet it has a great effect on the opinion of our people and the world to have the moral right on our side, of his agreement as well as that of the people of those countries.

Mr. Hackley's affair is really unfortunate. He has been driven into this arrangement by his distresses, which are great. He is a perfectly honest man, as is well known here where he was born, but unaccustomed to political subjects, he has not seen it in that view. But a respect for the innocence of his views cannot authorize the sanction of government to such an example. * * * *

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, April 27, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 24th came to hand last night. The correspondence between Mr. Smith and

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Mr. Erskine had been received three days before. I sincerely congratulate you on the change it has produced in our situation. It is the source of very general joy here, and could it have arrived one month sooner would have had important effects, not only on the elections of other States, but of this also, from which it would seem that wherever there was any considerable portion of federalism it has been so much reinforced by those of whose politics the price of wheat is the sole principle, that federalists will be returned from many districts of this State. The British ministry has been driven from its Algerine system, not by any remaining morality in the people, but by their unsteadiness under severe trial. But whencesoever it comes, I rejoice in it as the triumph of our forbearing and yet persevering system. It will lighten your anxieties, take from Cabal its most fertile ground of war, will give us peace during your time, and by the complete extinguishment of our public debt, open upon us the noblest application of revenue that has ever been exhibited by any nation. I am sorry they are sending a minister to attempt a treaty. They never made an equal commercial treaty with any nation, and we have no right to expect to be the first. It will place you between the injunctions of true patriotism and the clamors of a faction devoted to a foreign interest, in preference to that of their own country. It will confirm the English too in their practice of whipping us into a treaty. They did it in Jay's case, were near it in Monroe's,

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and on failure of that, have applied the scourge with tenfold vigor, and now come on to try its effect. But it is the moment when we should prove our consistence, by recurring to the principles we dictated to Monroe, the departure from which occasioned our rejection of his treaty, and by protesting against Jay's treaty being ever quoted, or looked at, or even mentioned. That form will forever be a millstone round our necks unless we now rid ourselves of it once for all. The occasion is highly favorable, as we never can have them more in our power.

As to Bonaparte, I should not doubt the revocation of his edicts, were he governed by reason. But his policy is so crooked that it eludes conjecture. I fear his first object now is to dry up the sources of British prosperity by excluding her manufactures from the continent. He may fear that opening the ports of Europe to our vessels will open them to an inundation of British wares. He ought to be satisfied with having forced her to revoke the orders on which he pretended to retaliate, and to be particularly satisfied with us, by whose unyielding adherence to principle she has been forced into the revocation. He ought the more to conciliate our good will, as we can be such an obstacle to the new career opening on him in the Spanish colonies. That he would give us the Floridas to withhold intercourse with the residue of those colonies, cannot be doubted. But that is no price; because they are ours in the first moment of the first war; and until a war they are of no partic-

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ular necessity to us. But, although with difficulty, he will consent to our receiving Cuba into our Union, to prevent our aid to Mexico and the other provinces. That would be a price, and I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a *ne plus ultra* as to us in that direction. We should then have only to include the north in our Confederacy, which would be of course in the first war, and we should have such an empire for liberty as she has never surveyed since the creation; and I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government. As the Mentor went away before this change, and will leave France probably while it is still a secret in that hemisphere, I presume the expediency of pursuing her by a swift sailing despatch was considered. It will be objected to our receiving Cuba, that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions. Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it.

Our spring continues cold and backward, rarely one growing day without two or three cold ones following. Wheat is of very various complexions from very good to very bad. Fruit has not suffered as much as was expected, except in peculiar situations. Gardens are nearly a month behind their usual state. I thank you for the squashes from Maine; they shall be planted to-day. I salute you with sincere and constant affection.

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TO HORATIO G. SPAFFORD.

MONTICELLO, May 14, 1809.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of April 3d, with the copy of your "General Geography," for which I pray you to accept my thanks. My occupations here have not permitted me to read it through, which alone could justify any judgment expressed on the work. Indeed, as it appears to be an abridgment of several branches of science, the scale of abridgment must enter into that judgment. Different readers require different scales according to the time they can spare, and their views in reading, and no doubt that the view of the sciences which you have brought into the compass of a 12mo volume will be accommodated to the time and object of many who may wish for but a very general view of them.

In passing my eye rapidly over parts of the book, I was struck with two passages, on which I will make observations, not doubting your wish, in any future edition, to render the work as correct as you can. In page 186 you say the potato is a native of the United States. I presume you speak of the Irish potato. I have inquired much into the question, and think I can assure you that plant is not a native of North America. Zimmerman, in his "Geographical Zoology," says it is a native of Guiana; and Clavigero, that the Mexicans got it from South America, *its native country*. The most probable account I

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have been able to collect is, that a vessel of Sir Walter Raleigh's, returning from Guiana, put into the west of Ireland in distress, having on board some potatoes which they called earth-apples. That the season of the year, and circumstance of their being already sprouted, induced them to give them all out there, and they were no more heard or thought of, till they had been spread considerably into that island, whence they were carried over into England, and therefore called the Irish potato. From England they came to the United States, bringing their name with them.

The other passage respects the description of the passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge, in the Notes on Virginia. You quote from Volney's account of the United States what his words do not justify. His words are, "on coming from Fredericktown, one does not see the rich perspective mentioned in the Notes of Mr. Jefferson. On observing this to him a few days after, he informed me he had his information from a French engineer who, during the war of Independence, ascended the height of the hills, and I conceive that at that elevation the perspective must be as imposing as a wild country, whose horizon has no obstacles, may present." That the scene described in the "Notes" is not visible from any part of the road from Fredericktown to Harper's ferry is most certain. That road passes along the valley, nor can it be seen from the tavern after crossing the ferry; and we may fairly

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infer that Mr. Volney did not ascend the height back of the tavern from which alone it can be seen, but that he pursued his journey from the tavern along the high road. Yet he admits, that at the elevation of that height the perspective may be as rich as a wild country can present. But you make him "surprised to find, *by a view of the spot*, that the description was *amazingly exaggerated*." But it is evident that Mr. Volney did not ascend the hill to *get a view of the spot*, and that he supposed that that height may present as imposing a view as such a country admits. But Mr. Volney was mistaken in saying I told him I had received the description from a French engineer. By an error of memory he has misapplied to this scene what I mentioned to him as to the Natural Bridge. I told him I received a *drawing* of that from a French engineer sent there by the Marquis de Chastellux, and who has published that drawing in his travels. I could not tell him I had the description of the passage of the Potomac from a French engineer, because I never heard any Frenchman say a word about it, much less did I ever receive a description of it from any mortal whatever. I visited the place myself in October, 1783, wrote the description some time after, and printed the work in Paris in 1784–5. I wrote the description from my own view of the spot, stated no fact but what I saw, and can now affirm that no fact is exaggerated. It is true that the same scene may excite very different sensations in different spectators, according to their

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different sensibilities. The sensations of some may be much stronger than those of others. And with respect to the Natural Bridge, it was not a description, but a drawing only, which I received from the French engineer. The description was written before I ever saw him. It is not from any merit which I suppose in either of these descriptions, that I have gone into these observations, but to correct the imputation of having given to the world as my own, ideas, and false ones too, which I had received from another. Nor do I mention the subject to you with a desire that it should be any otherwise noticed before the public than by a more correct statement in any future edition of your work.

You mention having enclosed to me some printed letters announcing a design in which you ask my aid. But no such letters came to me. Any facts which I possess, and which may be useful to your views, shall be freely communicated, and I shall be happy to see you at Monticello, should you come this way as you propose. You will find me engaged entirely in rural occupations, looking into the field of science but occasionally and at vacant moments.

I sowed some of the Benni seed the last year, and distributed some among my neighbors; but the whole was killed by the September frost. I got a little again the last winter, but it was sowed before I received your letter. Colonel Fen of New York receives quantities of it from Georgia, from whom you may probably get some through the Mayor of

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New York. But I little expect it can succeed with you. It is about as hardy as the cotton plant, from which you may judge of the probability of raising it at Hudson.

I salute you with great respect.

TO JOHN WYCHE.

MONTICELLO, May 19, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of March 19th came to hand but a few days ago, and informs me of the establishment of the Westward Mill Library Society, of its general views and progress. I always hear with pleasure of institutions for the promotion of knowledge among my countrymen. The people of every country are the only safe guardians of their own rights, and are the only instruments which can be used for their destruction. And certainly they would never consent to be so used were they not deceived. To avoid this, they should be instructed to a certain degree. I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well-chosen books, to be lent to the people of the country, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time. These should be such as would give them a general view of other history, and particular view of that of their own country, a tolerable knowledge of Geography, the elements of Natural Philosophy, of Agriculture and

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Mechanics. Should your example lead to this, it will do great good. Having had more favorable opportunities than fall to every man's lot of becoming acquainted with the best books on such subjects as might be selected, I do not know that I can be otherwise useful to your society than by offering them any information respecting these which they might wish. My services in this way are freely at their command, and I beg leave to tender to yourself my salutations and assurances of respect.

TO THE HONORABLE JUDGE WOODWARD.

MONTICELLO, May 27, 1809.

SIR,—I have received, very thankfully, the two copies of your pamphlet on the Constitution of the U. S., and shall certainly read them with pleasure. I had formerly looked with great interest to the experiment which was going on in France of an executive Directory, while that of a single elective executive was under trial here. I thought the issue of them might fairly decide the question between the two modes. But the untimely fate of that establishment cut short the experiment.

I have not, however, been satisfied whether the dissensions of that Directory (and which I fear are incident to a plurality) were not the most effective cause of the successful usurpations which overthrew them. It is certainly one of the most interesting questions to a republican, and worthy of great con-

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sideration. I thank you for the friendly expressions of your letter towards myself personally, and the sincere happiness I enjoy here, satisfies me that nothing personal or self-interested entered into my motives for continuing in the public service. The actual experiment proves to me that these were all in favor of returning to my present situation. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO WILLIAM LAMBERT.

MONTICELLO, May 28, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of March 14th was received in due time. The apology for so late an acknowledgment of it must be the multiplied occupations of my new situation after so long an absence from it. Truth requires me to add, also, that after being so long chained to the writing table, I go to it with reluctance, and listen with partiality to every call from any other quarter. I have not, however, been the less sensible of the kind sentiments expressed in your letter, nor the less thankful for them. Indeed I owe infinite acknowledgments to the republican portion of my fellow citizens for the indulgence with which they have viewed my proceedings generally. In the transaction of their affairs I never felt an interested motive. The large share I have enjoyed, and still enjoy of anti-republican hatred and calumny, gives me the satisfaction of supposing that I have been some obstacle to anti-republican designs; and

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if truth should find its way into history, the object of these falsehoods and calumnies will render them honorable to me. With sincere wishes for your welfare and happiness, I tender you the assurances of my esteem and respect.

TO DOCTOR ELIJAH GRIFFITH, PHILADELPHIA.

MONTICELLO, May 28, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of November 14th came to me in due time, but much oppressed with business then and to the end of my political term, I put it by as I did the civilities of my other friends, till the leisure I expected here should permit me to acknowledge them without the neglect of any public duty. I am very sensible of the kindness of the sentiments expressed in your letter, and of the general indulgence with which my republican friends generally, and those of Pennsylvania particularly, have received my public proceedings. I hope I may be allowed to say that they were always directed by a single view to the best interests of our country. In the electoral election, Pennsylvania really spoke in a voice of thunder to the monarchists of our country, and while that State continues so firm, with the solid mass of republicanism to the South and West, such efforts as we have lately seen in the anti-republican portion of our country cannot ultimately affect our security. Our enemies may try their cajoleries with my successor. They will find him as immovable in his

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republican principles as him whom they have honored with their peculiar enmity. The late pacification with England gives us a hope of eight years of peaceable and wise administration, within which time our revenue will be liberated from debt, and be free to commence that splendid course of public improvement and wise application of the public contributions, of which it remains for us to set the first example. I salute you with real esteem and respect.

TO THE HON. ROBERT SMITH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

MONTICELLO, June 10, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter from Mr. Smith of Erie, one of the members of Pennsylvania, which you will readily perceive ought to have been addressed to you by himself; as it is official and not personal opinion which can answer his views. I am, however, gratified by his mistake in sending it to me, inasmuch as it gives me an opportunity of abstracting myself from my rural occupations, and of saluting one with whom I have been connected in service and in society so many years, and to whose aid and relief on an important portion of the public cares, I have been so much indebted. I do it with sincere affection and gratitude, and look back with peculiar satisfaction on the harmony and cordial good will which, to ourselves and to our brethren of the Cabinet, so much sweetened our toils. From the characters now associated in the administration, I have no

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doubt of the continuance of the same cordiality so interesting to themselves and to the public; and great as are the difficulties and dangers environing our camp, I sleep with perfect composure, knowing who are watching for us. I pray you to present me respectfully to Mrs. Smith, and to accept my prayers that you may long continue in the enjoyment of health and the public esteem in return for your useful services past and to come.

TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

MONTICELLO, June 13, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I did not know till Mr. Patterson called on us, a few days ago, that you had passed on to Washington. I had recently observed in the debates of Congress, a matter introduced, on which I wished to give explanations more fully in conversation, which I will now do by abridgment in writing. Mr. Randolph has proposed an inquiry into certain prosecutions at common law in Connecticut, for libels on the government, and not only himself but others have stated them with such affected caution, and such hints at the same time, as to leave on every mind the impression that they had been instituted either by my direction, or with my acquiescence, at least. This has not been denied by my friends, because probably the fact is unknown to them. I shall state it for their satisfaction, and leave it to be disposed of as they think best.

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I had observed in a newspaper, (some years ago, I do not recollect the time exactly,) some dark hints of a prosecution in Connecticut, but so obscurely hinted that I paid little attention to it. Some considerable time after, it was again mentioned, so that I understood that some prosecution was going on in the federal court there, for calumnies uttered from the pulpit against me by a clergyman. I immediately wrote to Mr. Granger, who, I think, was in Connecticut at the time, stating that I had laid it down as a law to myself, to take no notice of the thousand calumnies issued against me, but to trust my character to my own conduct, and the good sense and candor of my fellow citizens; that I had found no reason to be dissatisfied with that course, and I was unwilling it should be broke through by others as to any matter concerning me; and I therefore requested him to desire the district attorney to dismiss the prosecution. Some time after this, I heard of subpœnas being served on General Lee, David M. Randolph, and others, as witnesses to attend the trial. I then for the first time conjectured the subject of the libel. I immediately wrote to Mr. Granger, to require an immediate dismission of the prosecution. The answer of Mr. Huntington, the district attorney, was, that these subpœnas had been issued by the defendant without his knowledge, that it had been his intention to dismiss all the prosecutions at the first meeting of the court, and to accompany it with an avowal of his opinion, that they

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could not be maintained, because the federal court had no jurisdiction over libels. This was accordingly done. I did not till then know that there were other prosecutions of the same nature, nor do I now know what were their subjects. But all went off together; and I afterwards saw in the hands of Mr. Granger, a letter written by the clergyman, disavowing any personal ill will towards me, and solemnly declaring he had never uttered the words charged. I think Mr. Granger either showed me, or said there were affidavits of at least half a dozen respectable men, who were present at the sermon and swore no such expressions were uttered, and as many equally respectable who swore the contrary. But the clergyman expressed his gratification at the dismission of the prosecution. I write all this from memory, and after too long an interval of time to be certain of the exactness of all the details; but I am sure there is no variation material, and Mr. Granger, correcting small lapses of memory, can confirm every thing substantial. Certain it is, that the prosecutions had been instituted, and had made considerable progress, without my knowledge, that they were disapproved by me as soon as known, and directed to be discontinued. The attorney did it on the same ground on which I had acted myself in the cases of Duane, Callendar, and others; to wit, that the sedition law was unconstitutional and null, and that my obligation to execute what was law, involved that of not suffering rights secured by valid laws, to be pros-

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trated by what was no law. I always understood that these prosecutions had been invited, if not instituted, by Judge Edwards, and the marshal being republican, had summoned a grand jury partly or wholly republican; but that Mr. Huntington declared from the beginning against the jurisdiction of the court, and had determined to enter *nolle prosequis* before he received my directions.

I trouble you with another subject. The law making my letters post free, goes to those *to me* only, not those *from* me. The bill had got to its passage before this was observed (and first I believe by Mr. Dana), and the House under too much pressure of business near the close of the session to bring in another bill. As the privilege of freedom was given to the letters *from* as well as *to* both my predecessors, I suppose no reason exists for making a distinction. And in so extensive a correspondence as I am subject to, and still considerably on public matters, it would be a sensible convenience to myself, as well as those who have occasion to receive letters from me. It happens too, as I was told at the time, (for I have never looked into it myself,) that it was done by two distinct acts on both the former occasions. Mr. Eppes, I think, mentioned this to me. I know from the Postmaster General, that Mr. Adams franks all his letters. I state this matter to you as being my representative, which must apologize for the trouble of it. We have been seasonable since you left us. Yesterday evening and this morning we have had

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refreshing showers, which will close and confirm the business of planting. Affectionately yours.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

MONTICELLO, June 14, 1809.

DEAR GENERAL,—So entirely are my habits changed from constant labor at my writing table, to constant active occupation without doors, that it is with difficulty I can resolve to take up my pen. I must do it, however, as a matter of duty to thank you for the dumb-fish you have been so kind as to have forwarded, and which are received safely and are found to be excellent. I do it with pleasure also, as it gives me an opportunity of renewing to you the assurances of my esteem, and of the friendship I shall ever bear you as a faithful fellow-laborer in the duties of the Cabinet, the value of whose aid there has been always justly felt and highly estimated by me. I sincerely congratulate you on the late pacification with England, which while it gives facility and remuneration to your labors in your new functions, restores calm in a great degree to the troubles of our country. Our successors have deserved well of their country in meeting so readily the first friendly advance ever made to us by England. I hope it is the harbinger of a return to the exercise of common sense and common good humor, with a country with which mutual interests would urge a mutual and affectionate intercourse. But

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her conduct hitherto has been towards us so insulting, so tyrannical and so malicious, as to indicate a contempt for our opinions or dispositions respecting her. I hope she is now coming over to a wiser conduct, and becoming sensible how much better it is to cultivate the good will of the government itself, than of a faction hostile to it; to obtain its friendship gratis than to purchase its enmity by nourishing at great expense a faction to embarrass it, to receive the reward of an honest policy rather than of a corrupt and vexatious one. I trust she has at length opened her eyes to federal falsehood and misinformation, and learnt, in the issue of the presidential election, the folly of believing them. Such a reconciliation to the government, if real and permanent, will secure the tranquillity of our country, and render the management of our affairs easy and delightful to our successors, for whom I feel as much interest as if I were still in their place. Certainly all the troubles and difficulties in the government during our time proceeded from England; at least all others were trifling in comparison with them.

Some time before I retired from office, I proposed to Mr. Smith of the War Office, to place your son in the list of some nominations for the new army. He called on me and stated that Pickering had prepared materials for an opposition to his appointment, which he was satisfied would be easily met with proper information, but without it, might embarrass and endanger the appointment. We concluded,

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therefore, that it was best to put it off to the ensuing session of Congress, and in the meantime give you notice of it. He promised to write and explain the delay to you, and I stated the matter to Mr. Madison, who would attend to the nomination at the proper time. Perhaps late events may supersede all further proceeding as to that army.

Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Dearborn. I hope that her health, as well as your own, may be improved by a return to native climate; and that you may both enjoy as many years as you desire of health and prosperity, is the prayer of yours sincerely and affectionately.

TO MONSIEUR DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

MONTICELLO, June 28, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—The interruption of our commerce with England, produced by our embargo and non-intercourse law, and the general indignation excited by her barefaced attempts to make us accessories and tributaries to her usurpations on the high seas, have generated in this country an universal spirit for manufacturing for ourselves, and of reducing to a minimum the number of articles for which we are dependent on her. The advantages, too, of lessening the occasions of risking our peace on the ocean, and of planting the consumer in our own soil by the side of the grower of produce, are so palpable, that no temporary suspension of injuries on her part, or

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agreements founded on that, will now prevent our continuing in what we have begun. The spirit of manufacture has taken deep root among us, and its foundations are laid in too great expense to be abandoned. The bearer of this, Mr. Ronaldson, will be able to inform you of the extent and perfection of the works produced here by the late state of things; and to his information, which is greatest as to what is doing in the cities, I can add my own as to the country, where the principal articles wanted in every family are now fabricated within itself. This mass of *household* manufacture, unseen by the public eye, and so much greater than what is seen, is such at present, that let our intercourse with England be opened when it may, not one half the amount of what we have heretofore taken from her will ever again be demanded. The great call from the country has hitherto been of coarse goods. These are now made in our families, and the advantage is too sensible ever to be relinquished. It is one of those obvious improvements in our condition which needed only to be once forced on our attention, never again to be abandoned.

Among the arts which have made great progress among us is that of printing. Heretofore we imported our books, and with them much political principle from England. We now print a great deal, and shall soon supply ourselves with most of the books of considerable demand. But the foundation of printing, you know, is the type-foundry, and a material essen-

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tial to that is antimony. Unfortunately that mineral is not among those as yet found in the United States, and the difficulty and dearness of getting it from England, will force us to discontinue our type-foundries, and resort to her again for our books, unless some new source of supply can be found. The bearer, Mr. Ronaldson, is of the concern of Binney & Ronaldson, type-founders of Philadelphia. He goes to France for the purpose of opening some new source of supply, where we learn that this article is abundant; the enhancement of the price in England has taught us the fact, that its exportation thither from France must be interrupted, either by the war or express prohibition. Our relations, however, with France, are too unlike hers with England, to place us under the same interdiction. Regulations for preventing the transportation of the article to England, under the cover of supplies to America, may be thought requisite. The bearer, I am persuaded, will readily give any assurances which may be required for this object, and the wants of his own type-foundry here are a sufficient pledge that what he gets is *bona fide* to supply them. I do not know that there will be any obstacle to his bringing from France any quantity of antimony he may have occasion for; but lest there should be, I have taken the liberty of recommending him to your patronage. I know your enlightened and liberal views on subjects of this kind, and the friendly interest you take in whatever concerns our welfare. I place Mr. Ron-

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aldson, therefore, in your hands, and pray you to advise him, and patronize the object which carries him to Europe, and is so interesting to him and to our country. His knowledge of what is passing among us will be a rich source of information for you, and especially as to the state and progress of our manufactures. Your kindness to him will confer an obligation on me, and will be an additional title to the high and affectionate esteem and respect of an ancient and sincere friend.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, July 12, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your two letters of the 4th and 7th, were received by the last mail. I now enclose you the rough draught of the letter to the Emperor of Russia. I think there must be an exact *fac simile* of it in the office, from which Mr. Short's must have been copied; because, that the one now enclosed has never been out of my hands, appears by there being no fold in the paper till now, and it is evidently a polygraphical copy. I send, for your perusal, letters of W. Short, and of Warden; because, though private, they contain some things and views perhaps not in the public letters. Bonaparte's successes have been what we expected, although Warden appears to have supposed the contrary possible. It is fortunate for Bonaparte, that he has not caught his

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brother Emperor; that he has left an ostensible head to the government, who may sell it to him to secure a mess of pottage for himself. Had the government devolved on the people, as it did in Spain, they would resist his conquest as those of Spain do. I expect, within a week or ten days, to visit Bedford. My absence will be of about a fortnight. I know too well the pressure of business which will be on you at Montpelier, to count with certainty on the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Madison and yourself here; yet my wishes do not permit me to omit the expression of them. In any event, I shall certainly intrude a flying visit on you during your stay in Orange. With my respectful devoirs to Mrs. Madison, I salute you with constant friendship and respect.

TO SKELTON JONES.

MONTICELLO, July 28, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of June 19th, did not come to hand till the 29th, and I have not been able to take it up till now. I lent to Mr. Burke, my collection of newspapers from 1741 to 1760, and the further matter which I suggested I might be able to furnish him after my return to Monticello, was the collection of MS. laws of Virginia, which I expected would furnish some proper and authentic materials for history, not extant anywhere else. These I lent the last year to Mr. Hening, who is now in possession of them and is printing them. But though this was within

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Mr. Burke's period, it is entirely anterior to yours. The collection of newspapers which I lent to Mr. Burke, I have never been able to recover, nor to learn where they are. They were all well bound, and of course have not probably been destroyed. If you can aid me in the recovery, you will oblige me. I consider their preservation as a duty, because I believe certainly there does not exist another collection of the same period. I have examined the sequel of my collection of newspapers, and find that it has but one paper of 1778. That is one of Piordie's of the month of May. But my not having them is no evidence they were not printed; because I was so continually itinerant during the revolution, that I was rarely in a situation to preserve the papers I received. And although there were probab'y occasional suspensions for want of paper, yet I do not believe there was a total one at any time. I think, however, you might procure a file for that or any other year, in Philadelphia or Boston. These would furnish all the material occurrences of Virginia. You ask, what has the historian to do with the latter part of 1776, the whole of 1777 and 1778, and a part of 1779? This is precisely the period which was occupied in the reformation of the laws to the new organization and principles of our government. The committee was appointed in the latter part of 1776, and reported in the spring or summer of 1779. At the first and only meeting of the whole committee, (of five persons), the question was discussed whether

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we would attempt to reduce the whole body of the law into a code, the text of which should become the law of the land? We decided against that, because every word and phrase in that text would become a new subject of criticism and litigation, until its sense should have been settled by numerous decisions, and that, in the meantime, the rights of property would be in the air. We concluded not to meddle with the common law, *i. e.*, the law preceding the existence of the statutes, further than to accommodate it to our new principles and circumstances; but to take up the whole body of statutes and Virginia laws, to leave out everything obsolete or improper, insert what was wanting, and reduce the whole within as moderate a compass as it would bear, and to the plain language of common sense, divested of the verbiage, the barbarous tautologies and redundancies which render the British statutes unintelligible. From this, however, were excepted the ancient statutes, particularly those commented on by Lord Coke, the language of which is simple, and the meaning of every word so well settled by decisions, as to make it safest not to change words where the sense was to be retained. After setting our plan, Colonel Mason declined undertaking the execution of any part of it, as not being sufficiently read in the law. Mr. Lee very soon afterwards died, and the work was distributed between Mr. Wythe, Mr. Pendleton and myself. To me was assigned the common law, (so far as we thought of altering it,) and the statutes

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down to the Reformation, or end of the reign of Elizabeth; to Mr. Wythe, the subsequent body of the statutes, and to Mr. Pendleton the Virginia laws. This distribution threw into my part the laws concerning crimes and punishments, the law of descents, and the laws concerning religion. After completing our work separately, we met, (Mr. W., Mr. P. and myself,) in Williamsburg, and held a long session, in which we went over the first and second parts in the order of time, weighing and correcting every word, and reducing them to the form in which they were afterwards reported. When we proceeded to the third part, we found that Mr. Pendleton had not exactly seized the intentions of the committee, which were to reform the language of the Virginia laws, and reduce the matter to a simple style and form. He had copied the acts *verbatim*, only omitting what was disapproved; and some family occurrence calling him indispensably home, he desired Mr. Wythe and myself to make it what we thought it ought to be, and authorized us to report him as concurring in the work. We accordingly divided the work, and re-executed it entirely, so as to assimilate its plan and execution to the other parts, as well as the shortness of the time would admit, and we brought the whole body of British statutes and laws of Virginia into 127 acts, most of them short. This is the history of that work as to its execution. Its matter and the nature of the changes made, will be a proper subject for the con-

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sideration of the historian. Experience has convinced me that the change in the style of the laws was for the better, and it has sensibly reformed the style of our laws from that time downwards, insomuch that they have obtained, in that respect, the approbation of men of consideration on both sides of the Atlantic. Whether the change in the style and form of the criminal law, as introduced by Mr. Taylor, was for the better, is not for me to judge. The digest of that act employed me longer than I believe all the rest of the work, for it rendered it necessary for me to go with great care over Bracton, Britton, the Saxon statutes, and the works of authority on criminal law; and it gave me great satisfaction to find that in general I had only to reduce the law to its ancient Saxon condition, stripping it of all the innovations and rigorisms of subsequent times, to make it what it should be. The substitution of the penitentiary, instead of labor on the high road and of some other punishments truly objectionable, is a just merit to be ascribed to Mr. Taylor's law. When our report was made, the idea of a penitentiary had never been suggested; the happy experiment of Pennsylvania we had not then the benefit of.

To assist in filling up those years of exemption from military invasion, an inquiry into the exertions of Virginia in the common cause during that period, would be proper for the patriotic historian, because her character has been very unjustly impeached by

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the writers of other States, as having used no equal exertions at that time. I know it to be false; because having all that time been a member of the legislature, I know that our whole occupation was in straining the resources of the State to the utmost, to furnish men, money, provisions and other necessaries to the common cause. The proofs of this will be found in the journals and acts of the legislature, in executive proceedings and papers, and in the auditor's accounts. Not that Virginia furnished her quota of *requisitions* of either men or money; but that she was always above par, in what was *actually* furnished by the other States. A letter of mine written in 1779 or '80, if still among the executive papers, will furnish full evidence of these facts. It was addressed to our delegates in answer to a formal complaint on the subject, and was founded in unquestionable vouchers.

The inquiries in your printed letter of August, 1808, would lead to the writing the history of my whole life, than which nothing could be more repugnant to my feelings. I have been connected, as many fellow laborers were, with the great events which happened to mark the epoch of our lives. But these belong to no one in particular, all of us did our parts, and no one can claim the transactions to himself. The most I could do would be to revise, correct or supply any statements which should be made respecting public transactions in which I had a part, or which may have otherwise come within my knowledge.

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I have to apologize for the delay of this answer. The active hours of the day are all devoted to employments without doors, so that I have rarely an interval, and more rarely the inclination, to sit down to my writing table, the divorce from which is among the greatest reliefs in my late change of life. Still, I will always answer with pleasure any particular inquiries you may wish to address to me, sincerely desiring for the public good as well as your own personal concern, to contribute to the perfection of a work from which I hope much to both; and I beg leave to tender you the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO ANDRÉ DE DASCHKOFF.

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of July 5th has been duly received, and, in it, that of my friend Mr. Short. I congratulate you on your safe arrival in the American hemisphere, after a voyage which must have been lengthy in time, as it was in space. I hope you may experience no unfavorable change in your health on so great a change of climate, and that our fervid sun may be found as innocent as our cloudless skies must be agreeable. I hail you with particular pleasure, as the first harbinger of those friendly relations with your country, so desirable to ours. Both nations being in character and practice essentially pacific, a common interest in the rights of peaceable nations, gives us a common cause in their

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maintenance; and however your excellent Emperor may have been led from the ordinary policy of his government, I trust that the establishment of just principles will be the result, as I am sure it is the object, of his efforts.

When you shall have had time to accommodate yourself somewhat to our climate, our manners and mode of living, you will probably have a curiosity to see something of the country you have visited, something beyond the confines of our cities. These exhibit specimens of London only; our country is a different nation. Should your journeyings lead you into this quarter of it, I shall be happy to receive you at Monticello, and to renew to you in person the assurances I now tender of my great respect and consideration.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, August 17, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—

* * * * * * * * *

I never doubted the chicanery of the Anglomen on whatsoever measures you should take in consequence of the disavowal of Erskine; yet I am satisfied that both the proclamations have been sound. The first has been sanctioned by universal approbation; and although it was not literally the case foreseen by the legislature, yet it was a proper

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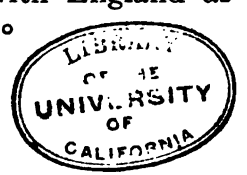
extension of their provision to a case similar, though not the same. It proved to the whole world our desire of accommodation, and must have satisfied every candid federalist on that head. It was not only proper on the well-grounded confidence that the arrangement would be honestly executed, but ought to have taken place even had the perfidy of England been foreseen. Their dirty gain is richly remunerated to us by our placing them so shamefully in the wrong, and by the union it must produce among ourselves. The last proclamation admits of quibbles, of which advantage will doubtless be endeavored to be taken, by those for whom gain is their god, and their country nothing. But it is soundly defensible. The British minister assured us, that the orders of council would be revoked before the 10th of June. The Executive, trusting in that assurance, declared by proclamation that the revocation was to take place, and that on that event the law was to be suspended. But the event did not take place, and the consequence, of course, could not follow. This view is derived from the former non-intercourse law only, having never read the latter one. I had doubted whether Congress must not be called; but that arose from another doubt, whether their second law had not changed the ground, so as to require their agency to give operation to the law. Should Bonaparte have the wisdom to correct his injustice towards us, I consider war with England as inevitable. Our ships



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will go to France and its dependencies, and they will take them This will be war on their part, and leave no alternative but reprisal. I have no doubt you will think it safe to act on this hypothesis, and with energy. The moment that open war shall be apprehended from them, we should take possession of Baton Rouge. If we do not, they will, and New Orleans becomes irrecoverable, and the western country blockaded during the war. It would be justifiable towards Spain on this ground, and equally so on that of title to West Florida, and reprisal extended to East Florida. Whatever turn our present difficulty may take, I look upon all cordial conciliation with England as desperate during the life of the present king. I hope and doubt not that Erskine will justify himself. My confidence is founded in a belief of his integrity, and in the * * * * * of Canning. I consider the present as the most shameless ministry which ever disgraced England. Copenhagen will immortalize their infamy. In genera , their administrations are so changeable, and they are obliged to descend to such tricks to keep themselves in place, that nothing like honor or morality can ever be counted on in transactions with them. I salute you with all possible affection.

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TO JOHN W. CAMPBELL.

MONTICELLO, September 3, 1809.

SIR,—Your letter of July 29th came to hand some time since, but I have not sooner been able to acknowledge it. In answer to your proposition for publishing a complete edition of my different writings, I must observe that no writings of mine, other than those merely official, have been published, except the Notes on Virginia and a small pamphlet under the title of A Summary View of the Rights of British America. The Notes on Virginia, I have always intended to revise and enlarge, and have, from time to time, laid by materials for that purpose. It will be long yet before other occupations will permit me to digest them, and observations and inquiries are still to be made, which will be more correct in proportion to the length of time they are continued. It is not unlikely that this may be through my life. I could not, therefore, at present, offer anything new for that work.

The Summary View was not written for publication. It was a draught I had prepared for a petition to the king, which I meant to propose in my place as a member of the Convention of 1774. Being stopped on the road by sickness, I sent it on to the Speaker, who laid it on the table for the perusal of the members. It was thought too strong for the times, and to become the act of the convention, but was printed by subscription of the members, with a

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short preface written by one of them. If it had any merit, it was that of first taking our true ground, and that which was afterwards assumed and maintained.

I do not mention the Parliamentary Manual, published for the use of the Senate of the United States, because it was a mere compilation, into which nothing entered of my own but the arrangement, and a few observations necessary to explain that and some of the cases.

I do not know whether your view extends to official papers of mine which have been published. Many of these would be like old newspapers, materials for future historians, but no longer interesting to the readers of the day. They would consist of reports, correspondences, messages, answers to addresses; a few of my reports while Secretary of State, might perhaps be read by some as essays on abstract subjects. Such as the report on measures, weights and coins, on the mint, on the fisheries, on commerce, on the use of distilled sea-water, etc. The correspondences with the British and French ministers, Hammond and Genet, were published by Congress. The messages to Congress, which might have been interesting at the moment, would scarcely be read a second time, and answers to addresses are hardly read a first time.

So that on a review of these various materials, I see nothing encouraging a printer to a re-publication of them. They would probably be bought by those

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only who are in the habit of preserving State papers, and who are not many.

I say nothing of numerous draughts of reports, resolutions, declarations, etc., drawn as a member of Congress or of the Legislature of Virginia, such as the Declaration of Independence, Report on the Money Unit of the United States, the Act of Religious Freedom, etc., etc.; these having become the acts of public bodies, there can be no personal claim to them, and they would no more find readers now, than the journals and statute books in which they are deposited.

I have presented this general view of the subjects which might have been within the scope of your contemplation, that they might be correctly estimated before any final decision. They belong mostly to a class of papers not calculated for popular reading, and not likely to offer profit, or even indemnification to the re-publisher. Submitting it to your consideration, I tender you my salutations and respects.

TO GENERAL WILLIAM CLARKE.

MONTICELLO, September 10, 1809.

DEAR GENERAL,—Your favor of June 2d came duly to hand in July, and brought me a repetition of the proofs of your kindness to me. Mr. Fitzhugh delivered the skin of the sheep of the Rocky Mountains to the President, from whom I expect to receive

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it in a few days at his own house. For this, as well as the blanket of Indian manufacture of the same material, which you are so kind as to offer me, accept my friendly thanks. Your donations, and Governor Lewis', have given to my collection of Indian curiosities an importance much beyond what I had ever counted on. The three boxes of bones which you had been so kind as to send to New Orleans for me, as mentioned in your letter of June 2d, arrived there safely, and were carefully shipped by the collector, and the bill of lading sent to me. But the vessel put into the Havana, under embargo distress, was there condemned as unseaworthy, and her enrollment surrendered at St. Mary's. What was done with my three boxes I have not learned, but have written to Mr. Brown, the collector, to have inquiry made after them. The bones of this animal are now in such a state of evanescence as to render it important to save what we can of them. Of those you had formerly sent me, I reserved a very few for myself; I got Dr. Wistar to select from the rest every piece which could be interesting to the Philosophical Society, and sent the residue to the National Institute of France. These have enabled them to decide that the animal was neither a mammoth nor an elephant, but of a distinct kind, to which they have given the name of Mastodont, from the protuberance of its teeth. These, from their forms, and the immense mass of their jaws, satisfy me this animal must have been arboriverous. Nature seems not to

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have provided other food sufficient for him, and the limb of a tree would be no more to him than a bough of a cotton tree to a horse. You mention in your letter that you are proceeding with *your family* to Fort Massac. This informs me that you have a family, and I sincerely congratulate you on it, while some may think it will render you less active in the service of the world, those who take a sincere interest in your personal happiness, and who know that, by a law of our nature, we cannot be happy without the endearing connections of a family, will rejoice for your sake as I do. The world has, of right, no further claims on yourself and General Lewis, but such as you may voluntarily render according to your convenience, or as they may make it your interest. I wrote lately to the Governor, but be so good as to repeat my affectionate attachments to him, and to be assured of the same to yourself, with every sentiment of esteem and respect.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, September 12, 1809.

DEAR SIR,— * * * * * * * *

Canning's equivocations degrade his government as well as himself. I despair of accommodation with them, because I believe they are weak enough to intend seriously to claim the ocean as their conquest, and think to amuse us with embassies and negotia-

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tions, until the claim shall have been strengthened by time and exercise, and the moment arrive when they may boldly avow what hitherto they have only squinted at. Always yours, with sincere affection.

TO DOCTOR B. S. BARTON.

MONTICELLO, September 21, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I received last night your favor of the 14th, and would with all possible pleasure have communicated to you any part or the whole of the Indian vocabularies which I had collected, but an irreparable misfortune has deprived me of them. I have now been thirty years availing myself of every possible opportunity of procuring Indian vocabularies to the same set of words; my opportunities were probably better than will ever occur again to any person having the same desire. I had collected about fifty, and had digested most of them in collateral columns, and meant to have printed them the last of my stay in Washington. But not having yet digested Captain Lewis' collection, nor having leisure then to do it, I put it off till I should return home. The whole, as well digest as originals, were packed in a trunk of stationery, and sent round by water with about thirty other packages of my effects from Washington, and while ascending James river, this package on account of its weight and presumed precious contents, was singled out and stolen. The thief being disappointed on opening it, threw into

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the river all its contents, of which he thought he could make no use. Among them were the whole of the vocabularies. Some leaves floated ashore and were found in the mud; but these were very few, and so defaced by the mud and water that no general use can be made of them. On the receipt of your letter I turned to them, and was very happy to find, that the only morsel of an original vocabulary among them, was Captain Lewis' of the Pani language, of which you say you have not one word. I therefore enclose it to you as it is, and a little fragment of some other, which I see is in his handwriting, but no indication remains on it of what language it is. It is a specimen of the condition of the little which was recovered. I am the more concerned at this accident, as of the two hundred and fifty words of my vocabularies, and the one hundred and thirty words of the great Russian vocabularies of the languages of the other quarters of the globe, seventy-three were common to both, and would have furnished materials for a comparison from which something might have resulted. Although I believe no general use can ever be made of the wrecks of my loss, yet I will ask the return of the Pani vocabulary when you are done with it. Perhaps I may make another attempt to collect, although I am too old to expect to make much progress in it.

I learn with pleasure your acquisition of the pamphlet on the astronomy of the ancient Mexicans. If it be ancient and genuine, or modern and rational,

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it will be of real value. It is one of the most interesting countries of our hemisphere, and merits every attention.

I am thankful for your kind offer of sending the original Spanish for my perusal. But I think it a pity to trust it to the accidents of the post, and whenever you publish the translation, I shall be satisfied to read that which shall be given by your translator, who is, I am sure, a greater adept in the language than I am.

Accept the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO JAMES FISHBACK.

MONTICELLO, September 27, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of June 5th came to hand in due time, and I have to acknowledge my gratification at the friendly sentiments it breathes towards myself. We have been thrown into times of a peculiar character, and to work our way through them has required services and sacrifices from our countrymen generally, and to their great honor, these have been generally exhibited, by every one in his sphere, and according to the opportunities afforded. With them I have been a fellow laborer, endeavoring to do faithfully the part allotted to me, as they did theirs; and it is a subject of mutual congratulation that, in a state of things such as the world had never before seen, we have gotten on so far well; and my

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confidence in our present high functionaries, as well as in my countrymen generally, leaves me without much fear for the future.

I thank you for the pamphlet you were so kind as to send me. At an earlier period of life I pursued inquiries of that kind with industry and care. Reading, reflection and time have convinced me that the interests of society require the observation of those moral precepts only in which all religions agree, (for all forbid us to murder, steal, plunder, or bear false witness,) and that we should not intermeddle with the particular dogmas in which all religions differ, and which are totally unconnected with morality. In all of them we see good men, and as many in one as another. The varieties in the structure and action of the human mind as in those of the body, are the work of our Creator, against which it cannot be a religious duty to erect the standard of uniformity. The practice of morality being necessary for the well-being of society, he has taken care to impress its precepts so indelibly on our hearts that they shall not be effaced by the subtleties of our brain. We all agree in the obligation of the moral precepts of Jesus, and nowhere will they be found delivered in greater purity than in his discourses. It is, then, a matter of principle with me to avoid disturbing the tranquillity of others by the expression of any opinion on the innocent questions on which we schismatize. On the subject of your pamphlet, and the mode of treating it, I permit

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myself only to observe the candor, moderation and ingenuity with which you appear to have sought truth. This is of good example, and worthy of commendation. If all the writers and preachers on religious questions had been of the same temper, the history of the world would have been of much more pleasing aspect.

I thank you for the kindness towards myself which breathes through your letter. The first of all our consolations is that of having faithfully fulfilled our duties; the next, the approbation and good will of those who have witnessed it; and I pray you to accept my best wishes for your happiness and the assurances of my respect.

TO MESSRS. BLOODGOOD AND HAMMOND.

MONTICELLO, September 30, 1809.

GENTLEMEN,—The very friendly sentiments which my republican fellow citizens of the city and county of New York have been pleased to express through yourselves as their organ, are highly grateful to me, and command my sincere thanks; and their approbation of the measures pursued, while I was entrusted with the administration of their affairs, strengthens my hope that they were favorable to the public prosperity. For any errors which may have been committed, the indulgent will find some apology in the difficulties resulting from the extraordinary state of human affairs, and the astonishing spectacles these

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have presented. A world in arms and trampling on all those moral principles which have heretofore been deemed sacred in the intercourse between nations, could not suffer us to remain insensible of all agitation. During such a course of lawless violence, it was certainly wise to withdraw ourselves from all intercourse with the belligerent nations, to avoid the desolating calamities inseparable from war, its pernicious effects on manners and morals, and the dangers it threatens to free governments; and to cultivate our own resources until our natural and progressive growth should leave us nothing to fear from foreign enterprise. That the benefits derived from these measures were lessened by an opposition of the most ominous character, and that a continuance of injury was encouraged by the appearance of domestic weakness which that presented, will doubtless be a subject of deep and durable regret to such of our well-intentioned citizens as participated in it, under mistaken confidence in men who had other views than the good of their own country. Should foreign nations, however, deceived by this appearance of division and weakness, render it necessary to vindicate by arms the injuries to our country, I believe, with you, that the spirit of the revolution is unextinguished, and that the cultivators of peace will again, as on that occasion, be transformed at once into a nation of warriors who will leave us nothing to fear for the natural and national rights of our country.

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Your approbation of the reasons which induced me to retire from the honorable station in which my fellow citizens had placed me, is a proof of your devotion to the true principles of our Constitution. These are wisely opposed to all perpetuations of power, and to every practice which may lead to hereditary establishments; and certain I am that any services which I could have rendered will be more than supplied by the wisdom and virtues of my successor.

I am very thankful for the kind wishes you express for my personal happiness. It will always be intimately connected with the prosperity of our country, of which I sincerely pray that my fellow-citizens of the city and county of New York may have their full participation.

TO DON VALENTINE DE FORONDA.

MONTICELLO, October 4, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of August the 26th came to hand in the succeeding month, and I have now to thank you for the pamphlet it contained. I have read it with pleasure, and find the constitution proposed would probably be as free as is consistent with hereditary institutions. It has one feature which I like much: that which provides that when the three co-ordinate branches differ in their construction of the constitution, the opinion of two

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branches shall overrule the third. Our Constitution has not sufficiently solved this difficulty.

Among the multitude of characters with which public office leads us to official intercourse, we cannot fail to observe many, whose personal worth marks them as objects of particular esteem, whom we would wish to select for our society in private life. I avail myself gladly of the present occasion of assuring you that I was peculiarly impressed with your merit and talents, and that I have ever entertained for them a particular respect. To those whose views are single and direct, it is a great comfort to have to do business with frank and honorable minds. And here give me leave to make an avowal, for which, in my present retirement, there can be no motive but a regard for truth. Your predecessor, soured on a question of etiquette against the administration of this country, wished to impute wrong to them in all their actions, even where he did not believe it himself. In this spirit, he wished it to be believed that we were in unjustifiable co-operation in Miranda's expedition. I solemnly, and on my personal truth and honor, declare to you that this was entirely without foundation, and that there was neither co-operation, nor connivance on our part. He informed us he was about to attempt the liberation of his native country from bondage, and intimated a hope of our aid, or connivance at least. He was at once informed, that although we had great cause of complaint against Spain, and even of war, yet whenever

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we should think proper to act as her enemy, it should be openly and above board, and that our hostility should never be exercised by such petty means. We had no suspicion that he expected to engage men here, but merely to purchase military stores. Against this there was no law, nor consequently any authority for us to interpose obstacles. On the other hand, we deemed it improper to betray his voluntary communication to the agents of Spain. Although his measures were many days in preparation at New York, we never had the least intimation or suspicion of his engaging men in his enterprise, until he was gone; and I presume the secrecy of his proceeding kept them equally unknown to the Marquis Yrujo at Philadelphia, and the Spanish consul at New York, since neither of them gave us any information of the enlistment of men, until it was too late for any measures taken at Washington to prevent their departure. The officer in the Customs, who participated in this transaction with Miranda, we immediately removed, and should have had him and others further punished, had it not been for the protection given them by private citizens at New York, in opposition to the government, who, by their impudent falsehoods and calumnies, were able to overbear the minds of the jurors. Be assured, Sir, that no motive could induce me, at this time, to make this declaration so gratuitously, were it not founded in sacred truth; and I will add further, that I never did, or countenanced, in public life, a single act

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inconsistent with the strictest good faith; having never believed there was one code of morality for a public, and another for a private man.

I receive, with great pleasure, the testimonies of personal esteem which breathes through your letter; and I pray you to accept those equally sincere with which I now salute you.

TO JOEL BARLOW.

MONTICELLO, October 8, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—It is long since I ought to have acknowledged the receipt of your most excellent oration on the 4th of July. I was doubting what you could say, equal to your own reputation, on so hackneyed a subject; but you have really risen out of it with lustre, and pointed to others a field of great expansion. A day or two after I received your letter to Bishop Gregoire, a copy of his diatribe to you came to hand from France. I had not before heard of it. He must have been eagle-eyed in quest of offence, to have discovered ground for it among the rubbish massed together in the print he animadverts on. You have done right in giving him a sugary answer. But he did not deserve it. For, notwithstanding a compliment to you now and then, he constantly returns to the identification of your sentiments with the extravagances of the Revolutionary zealots. I believe him a very good man, with imagination enough to declaim eloquently,

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but without judgment to decide. He wrote to me also on the doubts I had expressed five or six and twenty years ago, in the Notes of Virginia, as to the grade of understanding of the negroes, and he sent me his book on the literature of the negroes. His credulity has made him gather up every story he could find of men of color, (without distinguishing whether black, or of what degree of mixture,) however slight the mention, or light the authority on which they are quoted. The whole do not amount, in point of evidence, to what we know ourselves of Banneker. We know he had spherical trigonometry enough to make almanacs, but not without the suspicion of aid from Ellicot, who was his neighbor and friend, and never missed an opportunity of puffing him. I have a long letter from Banneker, which shows him to have had a mind of very common stature indeed. As to Bishop Gregoire, I wrote him, as you have done, a very soft answer. It was impossible for doubt to have been more tenderly or hesitatingly expressed than that was in the Notes of Virginia, and nothing was or is farther from my intentions, than to enlist myself as the champion of a fixed opinion, where I have only expressed a doubt. St. Domingo will, in time, throw light on the question.

I intended, ere this, to have sent you the papers I had promised you. But I have taken up Marshall's fifth volume, and mean to read it carefully, to correct what is wrong in it, and commit to writing such facts and annotations as the reading of that work will

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bring into my recollection, and which have not yet been put on paper; in this I shall be much aided by my memorandums and letters, and will send you both the old and the new. But I go on very slowly. In truth, during the pleasant season, I am always out of doors, employed, not passing more time at my writing table than will despatch my current business. But when the weather becomes cold, I shall go out but little. I hope, therefore, to get through this volume during the ensuing winter; but should you want the papers sooner, they shall be sent at a moment's warning. The ride from Washington to Monticello in the stage, or in a gig, is so easy that I had hoped you would have taken a flight here during the season of good roads. Whenever Mrs. Barlow is well enough to join you in such a visit, it must be taken more at ease. It will give us real pleasure whenever it may take place. I pray you to present me to her respectfully, and I salute you affectionately.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, October 11, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I do not know whether the request of Monsieur Moussier, explained in the enclosed letter, is grantable or not. But my partialities in favor of whatever may promote either the useful or liberal arts, induce me to place it under your consideration, to do in it whatever is right, neither more

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nor less. I would then ask you to favor me with three lines, in such form as I may forward him by way of answer.

I have reflected much and painfully on the change of dispositions which has taken place among the members of the Cabinet, since the new arrangement, as you stated to me in the moment of our separation. It would be, indeed, a great public calamity were it to fix you in the purpose which you seemed to think possible. I consider the fortunes of our republic as depending, in an eminent degree, on the extinguishment of the public debt before we engage in any war: because, that done, we shall have revenue enough to improve our country in peace and defend it in war, without recurring either to new taxes or loans. But if the debt should once more be swelled to a formidable size, its entire discharge will be despaired of, and we shall be committed to the English career of debt, corruption and rottenness, closing with revolution. The discharge of the debt, therefore, is vital to the destinies of our government, and it hangs on Mr. Madison and yourself alone. We shall never see another President and Secretary of the Treasury making all other objects subordinate to this. Were either of you to be lost to the public, that great hope is lost. I had always cherished the idea that you would fix on that object the measure of your fame, and of the gratitude which our country will owe you. Nor can I yield up this prospect to the secondary considerations which assail your tran-

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quillity. For sure I am, they never can produce any other serious effect. Your value is too justly estimated by our fellow citizens at large, as well as their functionaries, to admit any remissness in their support of you. My opinion always was, that none of us ever occupied stronger ground in the esteem of Congress than yourself, and I am satisfied there is no one who does not feel your aid to be still as important for the future as it has been for the past. You have nothing, therefore, to apprehend in the dispositions of Congress, and still less of the President, who, above all men, is the most interested and affectionately disposed to support you I hope, then, you will abandon entirely the idea you expressed to me, and that you will consider the eight years to come as essential to your political career. I should certainly consider any earlier day of your retirement, as the most inauspicious day our new government has ever seen. In addition to the common interest in this question, I feel particularly for myself the considerations of gratitude which I personally owe you for your valuable aid during my administration of public affairs, a just sense of the large portion of the public approbation which was earned by your labors and belongs to you, and the sincere friendship and attachment which grew out of our joint exertions to promote the common good; and of which I pray you now to accept the most cordial and respectful assurances.

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TO THE CHEVALIER LUIS DE ONIS.

MONTICELLO, November 4, 1809.

Thomas Jefferson presents his respectful compliments to his Excellency the Chevalier de Onis, and congratulates him on his safe arrival in the United States, and at a season so propitious for the preservation of health against the effects of a sensible and sudden change of climate. He hopes that his residence here will be made agreeable to him, and that it will be useful in cementing the friendship and intercourse of the two nations, so advantageous to both. He would have been happy to have paid his respects to the Chevalier de Onis in person, and to have had the honor of forming his acquaintance; but the distance and bad roads deny him that pleasure. He learns with great satisfaction that his venerable and worthy friend, Mr. Yznardi, continues in life and health, and takes this occasion of bearing testimony to his loyal and honorable conduct while in the United States. He salutes the Chevalier de Onis with assurances of his high respect and consideration.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON IRVING, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, November 23, 1809.

SIR,—An American vessel, the property of a respectable merchant of Georgetown, on a voyage to some part of Europe for general purposes of commerce, proposes to touch at some part of Spain with

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the view of obtaining Merino sheep to be brought to our country. The necessity we are under, and the determination we have formed of emancipating ourselves from a dependence on foreign countries for manufactures which may be advantageously established among ourselves, has produced a very general desire to improve the quality of our wool by the introduction of the Merino race of sheep. Your sense of the duties you owe to your station will not permit me to ask, nor yourself to do any act which might compromit you with the government with which you reside, or forfeit that confidence on their part which can alone enable you to be useful to your country. But as far as that will permit you to give aid to the procuring and bringing away some of the valuable race, I take the liberty of soliciting you to do so—it will be an important service rendered to your country; to which you will be further encouraged by the assurance that the enterprise is solely on the behalf of agricultural gentlemen of distinguished character in Washington and its neighborhood, with a view of disseminating the benefits of their success as widely as they can. Without any interest in it myself, other than the general one, I cannot help wishing a favorable result, and therefore add my solicitations to the assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, November 26, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 6th was received from our post office on the 24th, after my return from Bedford. I now re-enclose the letters of Mr. Short and Romanzoff, and with them a letter from Armstrong, for your perusal, as there may be some matters in it not otherwise communicated. The infatuation of the British government and nation is beyond everything imaginable. A thousand circumstances announce that they are on the point of being blown up, and they still proceed with the same madness and increased wickedness. With respect to Jackson I hear but one sentiment, except that some think he should have been sent off. The more moderate step was certainly more advisable. There seems to be a perfect acquiescence in the opinion of the Government respecting Onis. The public interest certainly made his rejection expedient, and as that is a motive which it is not pleasant always to avow, I think it fortunate that the contending claims of Charles and Ferdinand furnished such plausible embarrassment to the question of right; for, on our principles, I presume, the right of the Junta to send a Minister could not be denied. La Fayette, in a letter to me expresses great anxiety to receive his formal titles to the lands in Louisiana. Indeed, I know not why the proper officers have not sooner

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sent on the papers on which the grants might issue. It will be in your power to forward the grants or copies of them by some safe conveyance, as La Fayette says that no negotiation can be effected without them.

I enclose you a letter from Major Neely, Chickasaw agent, stating that he is in possession of two trunks of the unfortunate Governor Lewis, containing public vouchers, the manuscripts of his western journey, and probably some private papers. As he desired they should be sent *to the President*, as the public vouchers render it interesting to the public that they should be safely received, and they would probably come most safely if addressed to you, would it not be advisable that Major Neely should receive an order on your part to forward them to Washington addressed to you, by the stage, and if possible under the care of some person coming on? When at Washington I presume the papers may be opened and distributed; that is to say, the vouchers to the proper offices where they are cognizable; the manuscript voyage, etc., to General Clarke, who is interested in it, and is believed to be now on his way to Washington; and his private papers, if any, to his administrator—who is John Marks, his half brother. It is impossible you should have time to examine and distribute them; but if Mr. Coles could find time to do it, the family would have entire confidence in his distribution. The other two trunks, which are in the care of Captain Russel at the

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Chickasaw bluffs, and which Pernier (Governor Lewis' servant) says contain his private property, I write to Captain Russel, at the request of Mr. Marks, to forward to Mr. Brown at New Orleans, to be sent on to Richmond under my address. Pernier says that Governor Lewis owes him $240 for his wages. He has received money from Neely to bring him on here, and I furnish him to Washington, where he will arrive penniless, and will ask for some money to be placed to the Governor's account. He rides a horse of the Governor's, which, with the approbation of the administration, I tell him to dispose of and give credit for the amount in his account against the Governor. He is the bearer of this letter, and of my assurances of constant and affectionate esteem.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, November 30, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I received last night yours of the 27th, and rode this morning to Colonel Monroe's. I found him preparing to set out to-morrow morning for London, from whence he will not return till Christmas. I had an hour or two's frank conversation with him. The catastrophe of poor Lewis served to lead us to the point intended. I reminded him that in the letter I wrote to him while in Europe, proposing the Government of Orleans, I also suggested that of Louisiana, if fears for health should be opposed to

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the other. I said something on the importance of the post, its advantages, etc.—expressed my regret at the curtain which seemed to be drawn between him and his best friends, and my wish to see his talents and integrity engaged in the service of his country again, and that his going into any post would be a signal of reconciliation, on which the body of republicans, who lamented his absence from the public service, would again rally to him. These are the general heads of what I said to him in the course of our conversation. The sum of his answers was, that to accept of that office was incompatible with the respect he owed himself; that he never would act in any office where he should be subordinate to anybody but the President himself, or which did not place his responsibility substantially with the President and the nation; that at your accession to the chair, he would have accepted a place in the Cabinet, and would have exerted his endeavors most faithfully in support of your fame and measures; that he is not unready to serve the public, and especially in the case of any difficult crisis in our affairs; that he is satisfied that such is the deadly hatred of both France and England, and such their self-reproach and dread at the spectacle of such a government as ours, that they will spare nothing to destroy it; that nothing but a firm union among the whole body of republicans can save it, and therefore that no schism should be indulged on any ground; that in his present situation, he is sincere in his

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anxieties for the success of the administration, and in his support of it as far as the limited sphere of his action or influence extends; that his influence to this end had been used with those with whom the world had ascribed to him an interest he did not possess, until, whatever it was, it was lost, (he particularly named J. Randolph, who, he said, had plans of his own, on which he took no advice;) and that he was now pursuing what he believed his properest occupation, devoting his whole time and faculties to the liberation of his pecuniary embarrassments, which, three years of close attention, he hoped, would effect. In order to know more exactly what were the kinds of employ he would accept, I adverted to the information of the papers, which came yesterday, that General Hampton was dead, but observed that the military life in our present state, offered nothing which could operate on the principle of patriotism; he said he would sooner be shot than take a command under Wilkinson. In this sketch, I have given truly the substance of his ideas, but not always his own words. On the whole, I conclude he would accept a place in the Cabinet, or a military command dependent on the Executive alone, and I rather suppose a diplomatic mission, because it would fall within the scope of his views, and not because he said so, for no allusion was made to anything of that kind in our conversation. Everything from him breathed the purest patriotism, involving, however, a close attention to his own

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honor and grade. He expressed himself with the utmost devotion to the interests of our own country, and I am satisfied he will pursue them with honor and zeal in any character in which he shall be willing to act.

I have thus gone far beyond the single view of your letter, that you may, under any circumstances, form a just estimate of what he would be disposed to do. God bless you, and carry you safely through all your difficulties.

TO MR. CHARLES F. WELLES.

MONTICELLO, December 3, 1809.

SIR,—I received, within a few days past, your favor of February 29th, (for September, I presume,) in either case it has been long on the way. It covered the two pieces of poetry it referred to. Of all the charges brought against me by my political adversaries, that of possessing some science has probably done them the least credit. Our countrymen are too enlightened themselves, to believe that ignorance is the best qualification for their service. If Mr. M. solicits a seat in Congress, I am sure he will be more just to himself, and more respectful to his electors, than to claim it on this ground.

Without pretending to all the merits so kindly ascribed by the more friendly and poetical answer, I feel the right of claiming that of integrity of motives. Whether the principles of the majority of our fellow

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citizens, or of the little minority still opposing them, be most friendly to the rights of man, posterity will judge; and to that arbiter I submit my own conduct with cheerfulness. It has been a great happiness to me, to have received the approbation of so great a portion of my fellow citizens, and particularly of those who have opportunities of inquiring, reading and deciding for themselves. It is on this view that I owe you especial acknowledgments, which I pray you to accept with the assurances of my respect.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, December 7, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—The enclosed letter is from Father Richard, the Director of a school at Detroit. Being on a subject in which the departments both of the Treasury and War are concerned, I take the liberty of enclosing it to yourself as the centre which may unite these two agencies. The transactions which it alludes to took place in the months of December and January preceding my retirement from office, and as I think it possible they may not have been fully placed on the records of the War Office, because they were conducted verbally for the most part, I will give a general statement of them as well as my recollection will enable me. In the neighborhood of Detroit (two or three miles from the town) is a farm, formerly the property of one Earnest, a bankrupt

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Collector. It is now in the possession of the Treasury Department, as a pledge for a sum in which he is in default to the government, much beyond the value of the farm. As it is a good one, has proper buildings and in a proper position for the purpose contemplated, General Dearborn proposed to purchase it for the War Department at its real value. Mr. Gallatin thought he should ask the sum for which it was hypothecated. I do not remember the last idea in which we all concurred, but I believe it was that, as the Treasury must, in the end, sell it for what it could get, the War Department would become a bidder as far as its real value, and in the meantime would rent it. On this farm we proposed to assemble the following establishments: 1st. Father Richard's school. He teaches the children of the inhabitants of Detroit—but the part of the school within our view was that of the young Indian girls instructed by two French females, natives of the place, who devote their whole time and their own property, which was not inconsiderable, to the care and instruction of Indian girls in carding, spinning, weaving, sewing, and the other household arts suited to the condition of the poor, and as practiced by the white women of that condition. Reading and writing were an incidental part of their education. We proposed that the War Department should furnish the farm and the houses for the use of the school gratis, and add $400 a year to the funds, and that the benefits of the institution should be extended

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to the boys also of the neighboring tribes, who were to be lodged, fed, and instructed there.

2d. To establish there the farmer at present employed by the United States, to instruct those Indians in the use of the plough and other implements and practices of agriculture, and in the general management of the farm. This man was to labor the farm himself, and to have the aid of the boys through a principal portion of the day, by which they would contract habits of industry, learn the business of farming, and provide subsistence for the whole institution. Reading and writing were to be a secondary object.

3d. To remove thither the carpenter and smith at present employed by the United States among the same Indians; with whom such of the boys as had a turn for it should work and learn their trades.

This establishment was recommended by the further circumstance that whenever the Indians come to Detroit on trade or other business, they encamp on or about this farm. This would give them opportunities of seeing their sons and daughters, and their advancement in the useful arts—of seeing and learning from example all the operations and process of a farm, and of always carrying home themselves some additional knowledge of these things. It was thought more important to extend the civilized arts, and to introduce a separation of property among the Indians of the country around Detroit than elsewhere, because learning to set a high value on their

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property, and losing by degrees all other dependence for subsistence, they would deprecate war with us as bringing certain destruction on their property, and would become a barrier for that distant and isolated post against the Indians beyond them. There are beyond them some strong tribes, as the Sacs, Foxes,etc., with whom we have as yet had little connection, and slender opportunities of extending to them our benefits and influence. They are therefore ready instruments to be brought into operation on us by a powerful neighbor, which still cultivates its influence over them by nourishing the savage habits which waste them, rather than by encouraging the civilized arts which would soften, conciliate and preserve them. The whole additional expense to the United States was to be the price of the farm, and an increase of $400 in the annual expenditures for these tribes.

This is the sum of my recollections. I cannot answer for their exactitude in all details, but General Dearborn could supply and correct the particulars of my statement. Mr. Gallatin, too, was so often in consultation on the subject, that he must have been informed of the whole plan; and his memory is so much better than mine, that he will be able to make my statement what it should be. Add to this that I think I generally informed myself of our policy and proceedings in the case, as we went along; and, if I am not mistaken, it was one of the articles of a memorandum I left with you of things still *in fieri*, and which would merit your attention. I have

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thought it necessary to put you in possession of these facts, that you might understand the grounds of Father Richard's application, and be enabled to judge for yourself of the expediency of pursuing the plan, or of the means of withdrawing from it with justice to the individuals employed in its execution. How far we are committed with the Indians themselves in this business will be seen in a speech of mine to them, of January 31st, filed in the War Office, and perhaps something more may have passed to them from the Secretary of War. Always affectionately yours.

TO DR. N. CHAPMAN.

MONTICELLO, December 11, 1809.

SIR,—Your favor of November 10th did not come to hand till the 29th of that month. The subject you have chosen for the next anniversary discourse of the Linnean Society is certainly a very interesting and also a difficult one. The change which has taken place in our climate, is one of those facts which all men of years are sensible of, and yet none can prove by regular evidence; they can only appeal to each other's general observation for the fact. I remember that when I was a small boy, (say 60 years ago,) snows were frequent and deep in every winter—to my knee very often, to my waist sometimes—and that they covered the earth long. And I remember while yet young, to have heard from very old men,

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that in their youth, the winters had been still colder, with deeper and longer snows. In the year 1772, (37 years ago,) we had a snow two feet deep in the champaign parts of this State, and three feet in the counties next below the mountains. That year is still marked in conversation by the designation of "the year of the deep snow." But I know of no regular diaries of the weather very far back. In latter times, they might perhaps be found. While I lived at Washington, I kept a diary, and by recurring to that, I observe that from the winter of 1802–3, to that of 1808–9, inclusive, the average fall of snow of the seven winters was only fourteen and a half inches, and that the ground was covered but sixteen days in each winter on an average of the whole. The maximum in any one winter, during that period, was twenty-one inches fall, and thirty-four days on the ground. The change in our climate is very shortly noticed in the Notes on Virginia, because I had few facts to state but from my own recollections, then only of thirty or thirty-five years. Since that my whole time has been so completely occupied in public vocations, that I have been able to pay but little attention to this subject, and if I have heard any facts respecting it, I made no note of them, and they have escaped my memory. Thus, Sir, with every disposition to furnish you with any information in my possession, I can only express my regrets at the entire want of them. Nor do I know of any source in this State, now existing, from which any-

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thing on the subject can be derived. Williams, in his History of Vermont, has an essay on the change of climate in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and has very ingeniously laid history under contribution for materials. Doctor Williamson has written on the change of our climate, in one of the early volumes of our philosophical transactions. Both of these are doubtless known to you.

Wishing it had been in my power to have been more useful to you, I pray you to accept the assurances of my esteem and respect.

TO W. C. NICHOLAS, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, December 16, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I now enclose you the agricultural catalogue. I do not know whether I have made it more or less comprehensive than you wished; but in either case, you can make it what it should be by reduction or addition—there are probably other good books with which I am unacquainted. I do not possess the Geoponica, nor Rozier's Dictionary. All the others I have, and set them down on my own knowledge, except Young's Experimental Agriculture, which I have not, but had the benefit of reading your copy. I am sorry to address this catalogue to Warren, instead of Washington. Never was there a moment when it was so necessary to unite all the wisdom of the nation in its councils. Our affairs are certainly now at their ultimate point of crisis.

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I understand the Eastern Republicans will agree to nothing which shall render non-intercourse effectual, and that in any question of that kind, the federalists will have a majority. There remains, then, only war or submission, and if we adopt the former, they will desert us. Under these difficulties you ought not to have left us. A temporary malady was not a just ground for permanent withdrawing, and you are too young to be entitled as yet to decline public duties. I think there never was a time when your presence in Congress was more desirable. However, the die is cast, and we have only to regret what we cannot repair. You must indulge me a little in scolding on this subject, and the rather as it is the effect of my great esteem and respect.

TO SAMUEL KERCHEVAL.

MONTICELLO, January 15, 1810.

SIR,—Your favor of December 12th has been duly received, as was also that of September 28th. With the blank subscription paper for the academy of Frederic county, enclosed in your letter of September, nothing has been done. I go rarely from home, and therefore have little opportunity of soliciting subscriptions. Nor could I do it in the present case in conformity with my own judgment of what is best for institutions of this kind. We are all doubtless bound to contribute a certain portion of our income to the support of charitable and other useful public

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institutions. But it is a part of our duty also to apply our contributions in the most effectual way we can to secure their object. The question then is whether this will not be better done by each of us appropriating our whole contributions to the institutions within our own reach, under our own eye; and over which we can exercise some useful control? Or would it be better that each should divide the sum he can spare among all the institutions of his State, or of the United States? Reason, and the interest of these institutions themselves, certainly decide in favor of the former practice. This question has been forced on me heretofore by the multitude of applications which have come to me from every quarter of the Union on behalf of academies, churches, missions, hospitals, charitable establishments, etc. Had I parcelled among them all the contributions which I could spare, it would have been for each too feeble a sum to be worthy of being either given or received. If each portion of the State, on the contrary, will apply its aids and its attentions exclusively to those nearest around them, all will be better taken care of. Their support, their conduct, and the best administration of their funds, will be under the inspection and control of those most convenient to take cognizance of them, and most interested in their prosperity. With these impressions myself, I could not propose to others what my own judgment disapproved, as to their duty as well as my own. These considerations

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appear so conclusive to myself, that I trust they will be a sufficient apology for my not having fulfilled your wishes with respect to the paper enclosed. They are therefore submitted to your candor, with assurances of my best wishes for the success of the institution you patronize, and of my respect and consideration for yourself.

TO JOHN WAYLES EPPES.

MONTICELLO, January 17, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 10th came safely to hand, and I now enclose you a letter from Francis; he continues in excellent health, and employs his time well. He has written to his mamma and grandmamma. I observe that the H. of R. are sensible of the ill effects of the long speeches in their house on their proceedings. But they have a worse effect in the disgust they excite among the people, and the disposition they are producing to transfer their confidence from the legislature to the executive branch, which would soon sap our Constitution. These speeches, therefore, are less and less read, and if continued will cease to be read at all. The models for that oratory which is to produce the greatest effect by securing the attention of hearers and readers, are to be found in Livy, Tacitus, Sallust, and most assuredly not in Cicero. I doubt if there is a man in the world who can now read one of his orations through but as a piece of task-work. I observe

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the house is endeavoring to remedy the eternal protraction of debate by sitting up all night, or by the use of the Previous Question. Both will subject them to the most serious inconvenience. The latter may be turned upon themselves by a trick of their adversaries. I have thought that such a rule as the following would be more effectual and less inconvenient: "Resolved that at [viii.] o'clock in the evening (whenever the house shall be in session at that hour) it shall be the duty of the Speaker to declare that hour arrived, whereupon all debate shall cease. If there be then before the house a main question for the reading or passing of a bill, resolution or order, such main question shall immediately be put by the Speaker, and decided by yeas and nays.

"If the question before the house be secondary, as for amendment, commitment, postponement, adjournment of the debate or question, laying on the table, reading papers, or a previous question, such secondary, [or any other which may delay the main question,] shall stand *ipso facto* discharged, and the main question shall then be before the house, and shall be immediately put and decided by yeas and nays. But a motion for adjournment of the house, may once and once only, take place of the main question, and if decided in the negative, the main question shall then be put as before. Should any question of order arise, it shall be decided by the Speaker instanter, and without debate or appeal; and questions of privilege arising, shall be postponed till the

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main question be decided. Messages from the President or Senate may be received but not acted on till after the decision of the main question. But this rule shall be suspended during the [three] last days of the session of Congress.''

No doubt this, on investigation, will be found to need amendment; but I think the principle of it better adapted to meet the evil than any other which has occurred to me. You can consider and decide upon it, however, and make what use of it you please, only keeping the source of it to yourself. Ever affectionately yours.

TO SAMUEL KERCHEVAL.

MONTICELLO, January 19, 1810.

SIR,—Yours of the 7th instant has been duly received, with the pamphlet enclosed, for which I return you my thanks. Nothing can be more exactly and seriously true than what is there stated: that but a short time elapsed after the death of the great reformer of the Jewish religion, before his principles were departed from by those who professed to be his special servants, and perverted into an engine for enslaving mankind, and aggrandizing their oppressors in Church and State: that the purest system of morals ever before preached to man has been adulterated and sophisticated by artificial constructions, into a mere contrivance to filch wealth and power to themselves: that rational men, not

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being able to swallow their impious heresies, in order to force them down their throats, they raise the hue and cry of infidelity, while themselves are the greatest obstacles to the advancement of the real doctrines of Jesus, and do, in fact, constitute the real Anti-Christ.

You expect that your book will have some effect on the prejudices which the Society of Friends entertain against the present and late administrations. In this I think you will be disappointed. The Friends are men formed with the same passions, and swayed by the same natural princip'es and prejudices as others. In cases where the passions are neutral, men will display their respect for the religious *professions* of their sect. But where their passions are enlisted, these *professions* are no obstacle. You observe very truly, that both the late and present administration conducted the government on principles *professed* by the Friends. Our efforts to preserve peace, our measures as to the Indians, as to slavery, as to religious freedom, were all in consonance with their *profession*. Yet I never expected we should get a vote from them, and in this I was neither deceived nor disappointed. There is no riddle in this to those who do not suffer themselves to be duped by the *professions* of religious sectaries. The theory of American Quakerism is a very obvious one. The mother society is in England. Its members are English by birth and residence, devoted to their own country as good citizens ought to be. The

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Quakers of these States are colonies or filiations from the mother society, to whom that society sends its yearly lessons. On these, the filiated societies model their opinions, their conduct, their passions and attachments. A Quaker is essentially an Englishman, in whatever part of the earth he is born or lives. The outrages of Great Britain on our navigation and commerce, have kept us in perpetual bickerings with her. The Quakers here have taken side against their own government, not on their *profession* of peace, for they saw that peace was our object also; but from devotion to the views of the mother society. In 1797-8, when an administration sought war with France, the Quakers were the most clamorous for war. Their principle of peace, as a secondary one, yielded to the primary one of adherence to the Friends in England, and what was patriotism in the original, became treason in the copy. On that occasion, they obliged their good old leader, Mr. Pemberton, to erase his name from a petition to Congress against war, which had been delivered to a Representative of Pennsylvania, a member of the late and present administration; he accordingly permitted the old gentleman to erase his name. You must not therefore expect that your book will have any more effect on the Society of Friends here, than on the English merchants settled among us. I apply this to the Friends in general, not universally. I know individuals among them as good patriots as we have.

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I thank you for the kind wishes and sentiments towards myself, expressed in your letter, and sincerely wish to yourself the blessings of heaven and happiness.

TO WILLIAM BALDWIN.

MONTICELLO, January 19, 1810.

Thomas Jefferson returns to Mr. Baldwin his thanks for the copy of the letters of Cerus and Amicus just received from him. He sincerely wishes its circulation among the Society of Friends may have the effect Mr. Baldwin expects, of abating their prejudices against the government of their country. But he apprehends their disease is too deeply seated; that identifying themselves with the mother society in England, and taking from them implicitly their politics, their principles and passions, it will be long before they will cease to be Englishmen in everything but the place of their birth, and to consider that, and not America, as their real country. He is particularly thankful to Mr. Baldwin for the kind wishes and sentiments expressed in his letter, and sincerely wishes to him the blessings of health and happiness.

TO THOMAS T. HEWSON.

MONTICELLO, January 21, 1810.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of the 8th instant, informing me that the American Philosoph-

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ical Society had been pleased again unanimously to re-elect me their President. For these continued testimonials of their favor, I can but renew the expressions of my continued gratitude, and the assurances of my entire devotion to their service. If, in my present situation, I can in any wise forward their laudable pursuits for the information and benefit of mankind, all other duties shall give place to that.

I pray you to be the channel of communicating these sentiments, with the expressions of my dutiful respects to the Society, and to accept, yourself, the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TO THE HONORABLE PAUL HAMILTON.

MONTICELLO, January 23, 1810.

SIR,—The enclosed letter would have been more properly addressed to yourself, or perhaps to the Secretary of War. I have no knowledge at all of the writer; but suppose the best use I can make of his letter, as to himself or the public, is to enclose it to you for such notice only as the public utility may entitle it to; perhaps I should ask the favor of you to communicate it, with the samples, and with my friendly respects, to the Secretary of War, who may know something of the writer. I recollect that his predecessor made some trial of cotton tenting, and found it good against the water. Its combustibility, however, must be an objection to it for that purpose,

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and perhaps even on shipboard. I avail myself of the occasion which this circumstance presents of expressing my sincere anxieties for the prosperity of the administration in all its parts, which indeed involves the prosperity of us all, and of tendering to yourself in particular the assurances of my high respect and consideration.

TO JOEL BARLOW.

MONTICELLO, January 24, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 15th is received, and I am disconsolate on learning my mistake as to your having a dynamometer. My object being to bring a plough to be made here to the same standard of comparison by which Guillaume's has been proved, nothing less would be satisfactory than an instrument made by the same standard. I must import one, therefore, but how, in the present state of non-intercourse, is the difficulty. I do not know * * personally, but by character well. He is the most red-hot federalist, famous, or rather infamous for the lying and slandering which he vomited from the pulpit in the political harangues with which he polluted the place. I was honored with much of it. He is a man who can prove everything if you will take his word for proof. Such evidence of Hamilton's being a republican he may bring; but Mr. Adams, Edmund Randolph, and myself, could repeat an explicit declaration of Hamilton's against which * * proofs would weigh nothing.

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I am sorry to learn that your rural occupations impede so much the progress of your much to be desired work. You owe to republicanism, and indeed to the future hopes of man, a faithful record of the *march* of this government, which may encourage the oppressed to go and do so likewise. Your talents, your principles, and your means of access to public and private sources of information, with the leisure which is at your command, point you out as the person who is to do this act of justice to those who believe in the improvability of the condition of man, and who have acted on that behalf, in opposition to those who consider man as a beast of burden made to be rode by him who has genius enough to get a bridle into his mouth. The dissensions between two members of the Cabinet are to be lamented. But why should these force Mr. Gallatin to withdraw? They cannot be greater than between Hamilton and myself, and yet we served together four years in that way. We had indeed no personal dissensions. Each of us, perhaps, thought well of the other as a man, but as politicians it was impossible for two men to be of more opposite principles. The method of separate consultation, practised sometimes in the Cabinet, prevents disagreeable collisions.

You ask my opinion of Maine. I think him a most excellent man. Sober, industrious, intelligent and conscientious. But, in the difficulty of changing a nursery establishment, I suspect you will find an insurmountable obstacle to his removal. Present

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me respectfully to Mrs. Barlow, and be assured of my constant and affectionate esteem.

P. S. The day before yesterday the mercury was at $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ with us, a very uncommon degree of cold here. It gave us the first ice for the ice house.

TO GIDEON GRANGER, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, January 24, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I was sorry, by a letter from Mr. Barlow the other day, to learn the ill state of your health, and I sincerely wish that this may find you better. Young, temperate and prudent as you are, great confidence may be reposed in the provision nature has made for the restoration of order in your system when it has become deranged; she effects her object by strengthening the whole system, towards which medicine is generally mischievous. Nor are the sedentary habits of office friendly to it. But of all this your own good understanding, instructed by your experience, is the best judge. * * * * * * I cannot pass over this occasion of writing to you, the first presented me since retiring from office, without expressing to you my sense of the important aid I received from you in the able and faithful direction of the office committed to your charge. With such auxiliaries, the business and burden of government becomes all but insensible, and its painful anxieties are relieved by the

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certainty that all is going right. In no department did I feel this sensation more strongly than in yours, and though at this time of little significance to yourself, it is a relief to my mind to discharge the duty of bearing this testimony to your valuable services. I must add my acknowledgments for your friendly interference in setting the public judgment to rights with respect to the Connecticut prosecutions, so falsely and maliciously charged on me. I refer to a statement of the facts in the National Intelligencer of many months past, which I was sensible came from your hand. I pray you to be assured of my great and constant attachment, esteem and respect.

TO J. GARLAND JEFFERSON.

MONTICELLO, January 25, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of December 12th was long coming to hand. I am much concerned to learn that any disagreeable impression was made on your mind, by the circumstances which are the subject of your letter. Permit me first to explain the principles which I had laid down for my own observance. In a government like ours, it is the duty of the Chief Magistrate, in order to enable himself to do all the good which his station requires, to endeavor, by all honorable means, to unite in himself the confidence of the whole people. This alone, in any case where the energy of the nation is required, can produce a union of the powers of the whole, and point them in

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a single direction, as if all constituted but one body and one mind, and this alone can render a weaker nation unconquerable by a stronger one. Towards acquiring the confidence of the people, the very first measure is to satisfy them of his disinterestedness, and that he is directing their affairs with a single eye to their good, and not to build up fortunes for himself and family, and especially, that the officers appointed to transact their business, are appointed because they are the fittest men, not because they are his relations. So prone are they to suspicion, that where a President appoints a relation of his own, however worthy, they will believe that favor and not merit, was the motive. I therefore laid it down as a law of conduct for myself, never to give an appointment to a relation. Had I felt any hesitation in adopting this rule, examples were not wanting to admonish me what to do and what to avoid. Still, the expression of your willingness to act in any office for which you were qualified, could not be imputed to you as blame. It would not readily occur that a person qualified for office ought to be rejected merely because he was related to the President, and the then more recent examples favored the other opinion. In this light I considered the case as presenting itself to your mind, and that the application might be perfectly justifiable on your part, while, for reasons occurring to none perhaps, but the person in my situation, the public interest might render it unadvisable. Of this, however, be assured that I consid-

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ered the proposition as innocent on your part, and that it never lessened my esteem for you, or the interest I felt in your welfare.

My stay in Amelia was too short, (only twenty-four hours,) to expect the pleasure of seeing you there. It would be a happiness to me anywhere, but especially here, from whence I am rarely absent. I am leading a life of considerable activity as a farmer, reading little and writing less. Something pursued with ardor is necessary to guard us from the *tedium-viatæ*, and the active pursuits lessen most our sense of the infirmities of age. That to the health of youth you may add an old age of vigor, is the sincere prayer of yours affectionately.

TO JUDGE DAVID CAMPBELL.

MONTICELLO, January 28, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of November 5th, was two months on its passage to me. I am very thankful for all the kind expressions of friendship in it, and I consider it a great felicity, through a long and trying course of life, to have retained the esteem of my early friends unaltered. I find in old age that the impressions of youth are the deepest and most indelible. Some friends, indeed, have left me by the way, seeking, by a different political path, the same object, their country's good, which I pursued with the crowd along the common highway. It is

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a satisfaction to me that I was not the first to leave them. I have never thought that a difference in political, any more than in religious opinions, should disturb the friendly intercourse of society. There are so many other topics on which friends may converse and be happy, that it is wonderful they would select, of preference, the only one on which they cannot agree. I am sensible of the mark of esteem manifested by the name you have given to your son. Tell him from me, that he must consider as essentially belonging to it, to love his friends and wish no ill to his enemies. I shall be happy to see him here whenever any circumstance shall lead his footsteps this way. You doubt, between law and physic, which profession he shall adopt. His peculiar turn of mind, and your own knowledge of things will best decide this question. Law is quite overdone. It is fallen to the ground, and a man must have great powers to raise himself in it to either honor or profit. The mob of the profession get as little money and less respect, than they would by digging the earth. The followers of Esculapius are also numerous. Yet I have remarked that wherever one sets himself down in a good neighborhood, not pre-occupied, he secures to himself its practice, and if prudent, is not long in acquiring whereon to retire and live in comfort. The physician is happy in the attachment of the families in which he practices. All think he has saved some one of them, and he finds himself everywhere a welcome guest, a home in every house. If, to the

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consciousness of having saved some lives, he can add that of having at no time, from want of caution, destroyed the boon he was called on to save, he will enjoy, in age, the happy reflection of not having lived in vain; while the lawyer has only to recollect how many, by his dexterity, have been cheated of their right and reduced to beggary. After all, I end where I began, with the observation that your son's disposition and your prudence, are the best arbiters of this question, and with the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO CÆSAR A. RODNEY.

MONTICELLO, February 10, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for your favor of the 31st ultimo, which is just now received. It has been peculiarly unfortunate for us, personally, that the portion in the history of mankind, at which we were called to take a share in the direction of their affairs, was such an one as history has never before presented. At any other period, the even-handed justice we have observed towards all nations, the efforts we have made to merit their esteem by every act which candor or liberality could exercise, would have preserved our peace, and secured the unqualified confidence of all other nations in our faith and probity. But the hurricane which is now blasting the world, physical and moral, has prostrated all the mounds of reason as well as right. All those calcula-

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tions which, at any other period, would have been deemed honorable, of the existence of a moral sense in man, individually or associated, of the connection which the laws of nature have established between his duties and his interests, of a regard for honest fame and the esteem of our fellow men, have been a matter of reproach on us, as evidences of imbecility. As if it could be a folly for an honest man to suppose that others could be honest also, when it is their interest to be so. And when is this state of things to end? The death of Bonaparte would, to be sure, remove the first and chiefest apostle of the desolation of men and morals, and might withdraw the scourge of the land. But what is to restore order and safety on the ocean? The death of George III? Not at all. He is only stupid; and his ministers, however weak and profligate in morals, are ephemeral. But his nation is permanent, and it is that which is the tyrant of the ocean. The principle that force is right, is become the principle of the nation itself. They would not permit an honest minister, were accident to bring such an one into power, to relax their system of lawless piracy. These were the difficulties when I was with you. I know they are not lessened, and I pity you.

It is a blessing, however, that our people are reasonable; that they are kept so well informed of the state of things as to judge for themselves, to see the true sources of their difficulties, and to maintain their confidence undiminished in the wisdom and

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integrity of their functionaries. *Macte virtute* therefore. Continue to go straight forward, pursuing always that which is right, as the only clue which can lead us out of the labyrinth. Let nothing be spared of either reason or passion, to preserve the public confidence entire, as the only rock of our safety. In times of peace the people look most to their representatives; but in war, to the executive solely. It is visible that their confidence is even now veering in that direction; that they are looking to the executive to give the proper direction to their affairs, with a confidence as auspicious as it is well founded.

I avail myself of this, the first occasion of writing to you, to express all the depth of my affection for you; the sense I entertain of your faithful co-operation in my late labors, and the debt I owe for the valuable aid I received from you. Though separated from my fellow laborers in place and pursuit, my affections are with you all, and I offer daily prayers that ye love one another, as I love you. God bless you.

TO REV. SAMUEL KNOX.

MONTICELLO, February 12, 1810.

SIR,—Your favor of January 22d loitered on the way somewhere, so as not to come to my hand until the 5th instant. The title of the tract of Buchanan which you propose to translate, was familiar to me,

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and I possessed the tract; but no circumstance had ever led me to look into it. Yet I think nothing more likely than that, in the free spirit of that age and state of society, principles should be avowed, which were felt and followed, although unwritten in the Scottish Constitution. Undefined powers had been entrusted to the crown, undefined rights retained by the people, and these depended for their maintenance on the spirit of the people, which, in that day was dependence sufficient. I shall certainly, after what you say of it, give it a serious reading. His latinity is so pure as to claim a place in school reading, and the sentiments which have recommended the work to your notice, are such as ought to be instilled into the minds of our youth on their first opening. The boys of the rising generation are to be the men of the next, and the sole guardians of the principles we deliver over to them. That I have acted through life of those on sincere republicanism I feel in every fibre of my constitution. And when men who feel like myself, bear witness in my favor, my satisfaction is complete. The testimony of approbation implied in the desire you express of coupling my name with Buchanan's work, and your translation of it, cannot but be acceptable and flattering; and the more so as coming from one of whom a small acquaintance had inspired me with a great esteem. This I am now happy in finding an occasion to express. The times which brought us within mutual observation were awfully trying. But truth and reason are eternal.

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They have prevailed. And they will eternally prevail, however in times and places they may be overborne for a while by violence, military, civil, or ecclesiastical. The preservation of the holy fire is confided to us by the world, and the sparks which will emanate from it will ever serve to rekindle it in other quarters of the globe, *numinibus secundis*.

Amidst the immense mass of detraction which was published against me, when my fellow citizens proposed to entrust me with their concerns, and the efforts of more candid minds to expose their falsehood, I retain a remembrance of the pamphlet you mention. But I never before learned who was its author; nor was it known to me that Mr. Pechin had ever published a copy of the Notes on Virginia. But had all this been known, I should have seen myself with pride by your side. Wherever you lead, we may all safely follow, assured that it is in the path of truth and liberty. Mr. Pechin knew well that your introduction would plead for his author, and only erred in not asking your leave. Wishing every good effect which may follow your undertaking, I tender you the assurances of my high esteem and respect.

TO W. D. G. WORTHINGTON, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, February 24, 1810.

SIR,—I have to thank you for the pamphlet you have been so kind as to send me, and especially for its contents so far as they respect myself personally.

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I had before read your speech in the newspapers, with great satisfaction, and the more, as, besides the able defence of the government, I saw that an absent and retired servant would still find, in the justice of the public counsellors, friendly advocates who would not suffer his name to be maligned without answer or reproof. If, brooding over past calamities, the attentions of federalism can, by abusing me, be diverted from disturbing the course of government, they will make me useful longer than I had expected to be so. Having served them faithfully for a term of twelve or fourteen years, in the terrific station of Rawhead and Bloodybones, it was supposed that, retired from power, I should have been *functus officio*, of course, for them also. If, nevertheless, they wish my continuance in that awful office, I yield, and the rather as it may be exercised at home, without interfering with the tranquil enjoyment of my farm, my family, my friends and books. In truth, having never felt a pain from their abuse, I bear them no malice. Contented with our government, elective as it is in three of its principal branches, I wish not, on Hamilton's plan, to see two of them for life; and still less, hereditary, as others desire. I believe that the yeomanry of the federalists think on this subject with me. They are substantially republican. But some of their leaders, who get into the public councils, would prefer Hamilton's government, and still more the hereditary one. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* I wish them no harm, but

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that they may never get into power, not *for their harm*, but for the good of our country. I hope the friends of republican government will keep strict watch over them, and not let them want, when they need it, the wholesome discipline of which you have sent me a specimen. I commit them with entire confidence to your care, and salute you with esteem and respect.

TO WILLIAM A. BURWELL.

MONTICELLO, February 25, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 16th, has given me real uneasiness. I was certainly very unfortunate in the choice of my expression, when I hit upon one which could excite any doubt of my unceasing affections for you. In observing that you might use the information as you should find proper, I meant merely that you might communicate it to the President, the Secretaries of State or War, or to young Mr. Lee, as should be judged by yourself most proper. I meant particularly, to permit its communication to Mr. Lee, to enlighten his enquiries, for I do not know that his father received the medal. I could only conduct the information to the completion of the die and striking off a proof. With such assurances as I have of your affection, be assured that nothing but the most direct and unequivocal proofs can ever make me suspect its abatement, and conscious of as warm feelings towards yourself, I hope

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you will ever be as unready to doubt them. Let us put this, then, under our feet.

I like your convoy bill, because although it does not assume the maintenance of all our maritime rights, it assumes as much as it is our interest to maintain. Our coasting trade is the first and most important branch, never to be yielded but with our existence. Next to that is the carriage of our own productions in our own vessels, and bringing back the returns for our own consumption; so far I would protect it, and force every part of the Union to join in the protection at the point of the bayonet. But though we have a right to the remaining branch of carrying for other nations, its advantages do not compensate its risks. Your bill first rallies us to the ground the Constitution ought to have taken, and to which we ought to return without delay; the moment is the most favorable possible, because the Eastern States, by declaring they will not protect that cabotage by war, and forcing us to abandon it, have released us from every future claim for its protection on that part. Your bill is excellent in another view: it presents still one other ground to which we can retire before we resort to war; it says to the belligerents, rather than go to war, we will retire from the brokerage of other nations, and confine ourselves to the carriage and exchange of our own productions; but we will vindicate that in all its rights—if you touch it, it is war.

The present delightful weather has drawn us all

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into our farms and gardens; we have had the most devastating rain which has ever fallen within my knowledge. Three inches of water fell in the space of about an hour. Every hollow of every hill presented a torrent which swept everything before it. I have never seen the fields so much injured. Mr. Randolph's farm is the only one which has not suffered; his horizontal furrows arrested the water at every step till it was absorbed, or at least had deposited the soil it had taken up. Everybody in this neighborhood is adopting his method of ploughing, except tenants who have no interest in the preservation of the soil.

Present me respectfully to Mrs. Burwell, and be assured of my constant affection.

TO GENERAL THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

MONTICELLO, February 26, 1810.

MY DEAR GENERAL AND FRIEND,—I have rarely written to you; never but by safe conveyances; and avoiding everything political, lest coming from one in the station I then held, it might be imputed injuriously to our country, or perhaps even excite jealousy of you. Hence my letters were necessarily dry. Retired now from public concerns, totally unconnected with them, and avoiding all curiosity about what is done or intended, what I say is from myself only, the workings of my own mind, imputable to nobody else.

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The anxieties which I know you have felt, on seeing exposed to the jostlings of a warring world, a country to which, in early life, you devoted your sword and services when oppressed by foreign dominion, were worthy of your philanthropy and disinterested attachment to the freedom and happiness of man. Although we have not made all the provisions which might be necessary for a war in the field of Europe, yet we have not been inattentive to such as would be necessary here. From the moment that the affair of the Chesapeake rendered the prospect of war imminent, every faculty was exerted to be prepared for it, and I think I may venture to solace you with the assurance, that we are, in a good degree, prepared. Military stores for many campaigns are on hand, all the necessary articles (sulphur excepted), and the art of preparing them among ourselves, abundantly; arms in our magazines for more men than will ever be required in the field, and forty thousand new stand yearly added, of our own fabrication, superior to any we have ever seen from Europe; heavy artillery much beyond our need; an increasing stock of field pieces, several foundries casting one every other day each; a military school of about fifty students, which has been in operation a dozen years; and the manufacture of men constantly going on, and adding forty thousand young soldiers to our force every year that the war is deferred; at all our seaport towns of the least consequence we have erected works of defence, and

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assigned them gunboats, carrying one or two heavy pieces, either eighteen, twenty-four, or thirty-two pounders, sufficient in the smaller harbors to repel the predatory attacks of privateers or single armed ships, and proportioned in the larger harbors to such more serious attacks as they may probably be exposed to. All these were nearly completed, and their gunboats in readiness, when I retired from the government. The works of New York and New Orleans alone, being on a much larger scale, are not yet completed. The former will be finished this summer, mounting four hundred and thirty-eight guns, and, with the aid of from fifty to one hundred gunboats, will be adequate to the resistance of any fleet which will ever be trusted across the Atlantic. The works for New Orleans are less advanced. These are our preparations. They are very different from what you will be told by newspapers, and travellers, even Americans. But it is not to them the government communicates the public condition. Ask one of them if he knows the exact state of any particular harbor, and you will find probably that he does not know even that of the one he comes from. You will ask, perhaps, where are the proofs of these preparations for one who cannot go and see them. I answer, in the acts of Congress, authorizing such preparations, and in your knowledge of me, that, if authorized, they would be executed.

Two measures have not been adopted, which I pressed on Congress repeatedly at their meetings.

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The one, to settle the whole ungranted territory of Orleans, by donations of land to able-bodied young men, to be engaged and carried there at the public expense, who would constitute a force always ready on the spot to defend New Orleans. The other was, to class the militia according to the years of their birth, and make all those from twenty to twenty-five liable to be trained and called into service at a moment's warning. This would have given us a force of three hundred thousand young men, prepared by proper training, for service in any part of the United States; while those who had passed through that period would remain at home, liable to be used in their own or adjacent States. These two measures would have completed what I deemed necessary for the entire security of our country. They would have given me, on my retirement from the government of the nation, the consolatory reflection, that having found, when I was called to it, not a single seaport town in a condition to repel a levy of contribution by a single privateer or pirate, I had left every harbor so prepared by works and gunboats, as to be in a reasonable state of security against any probable attack; the territory of Orleans acquired, and planted with an internal force sufficient for its protection; and the whole territory of the United States organized by such a classification of its male force, as would give it the benefit of all its young population for active service, and that of a middle and advanced age for stationary defence.

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But these measures will, I hope, be completed by my successor, who, to the purest principles of republican patriotism, adds a wisdom and foresight second to no man on earth.

So much as to my country. Now a word as to myself. I am retired to Monticello, where, in the bosom of my family, and surrounded by my books, I enjoy a repose to which I have been long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence. From breakfast to dinner, I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark, I give to society and recreation with my neighbors and friends; and from candle light to early bed-time, I read. My health is perfect; and my strength considerably reinforced by the activity of the course I pursue; perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of near sixty-seven years of age. I talk of ploughs and harrows, of seeding and harvesting, with my neighbors, and of politics too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow citizens, and feel, at length, the blessing of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighboring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavor to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom

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and happiness of man. So that coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government.

* * * * * * * * *

Instead of the unalloyed happiness of retiring unembarrassed and independent, to the enjoyment of my estate, which is ample for my limited views, I have to pass such a length of time in a thraldom of mind never before known to me. Except for this, my happiness would have been perfect. That yours may never know disturbance, and that you may enjoy as many years of life, as health and ease to yourself shall wish, is the sincere prayer of your constant and affectionate friend.

TO DOCTOR WALTER JONES.

MONTICELLO, March 5, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I received duly your favor of the 19th ultimo, and I salute you with all ancient and recent recollections of friendship. I have learned, with real sorrow, that circumstances have arisen among our executive counsellors, which have rendered foes those who once were friends. To themselves it will be a source of infinite pain and vexation, and therefore chiefly I lament it, for I have a sincere esteem for both parties. To the President it will be really inconvenient; but to the nation I do not know that it can do serious injury, unless we were

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to believe the newspapers, which pretend that Mr. Gallatin will go out. That indeed would be a day of mourning for the United States; but I hope that the position of both gentlemen may be made so easy as to give no cause for either to withdraw. The ordinary business of every day is done by consultation between the President and the Head of the department alone to which it belongs. For measures of importance or difficulty, a consultation is held with the Heads of departments, either assembled, or by taking their opinions separately in conversation or in writing. The latter is most strictly in the spirit of the Constitution. Because the President, on weighing the advice of all, is left free to make up an opinion for himself. In this way they are not brought together, and it is not necessarily known to any what opinion the others have given. This was General Washington's practice for the first two or three years of his administration, till the affairs of France and England threatened to embroil us, and rendered consideration and discussion desirable. In these discussions, Hamilton and myself were daily pitted in the Cabinet like two cocks. We were then but four in number, and, according to the majority, which of course was three to one, the President decided. The pain was for Hamilton and myself, but the public experienced no inconvenience. I practised this last method, because the harmony was so cordial among us all, that we never failed, by a contribution of mutual views on

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the subject, to form an opinion acceptable to the whole. I think there never was one instance to the contrary, in any case of consequence. Yet this does, in fact, transform the executive into a directory, and I hold the other method to be more constitutional. It is better calculated, too, to prevent collision and irritation, and to cure it, or at least suppress its effects when it has already taken place. It is the obvious and sufficient remedy in the present case, and will doubtless be resorted to.

Our difficulties are indeed great, if we consider ourselves alone. But when viewed in comparison to those of Europe, they are the joys of Paradise. In the eternal revolution of ages, the destinies have placed our portion of existence amidst such scenes of tumult and outrage, as no other period, within our knowledge, had presented. Every government but one on the continent of Europe, demolished, a conqueror roaming over the earth with havoc and destruction, a pirate spreading misery and ruin over the face of the ocean. Indeed, my friend, ours is a bed of roses. And the system of government which shall keep us afloat amidst the wreck of the world, will be immortalized in history. We have, to be sure, our petty squabbles and heart burnings, and we have something of the blue devils at times, as to these rawheads and bloodybones who are eating up other nations. But happily for us, the Mammoth cannot swim, nor the Leviathan move on dry land; and if we will keep out of their way, they cannot get

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at us. If, indeed, we choose to place ourselves within the scope of their tether, a gripe of the paw, or flounce of the tail, may be our fortune. Our business certainly was to be still. But a part of our nation chose to declare against this, in such a way as to control the wisdom of the government. I yielded with others, to avoid a greater evil. But from that moment, I have seen no system which could keep us entirely aloof from these agents of destruction. If there be any, I am certain that you, my friends, now charged with the care of us all, will see and pursue it. I give myself, therefore, no trouble with thinking or puzzling about it. Being confident in my watchmen I sleep soundly. God bless you all, and send you a safe deliverance.

TO GOVERNOR JOHN LANGDON.[1]

MONTICELLO, March 5, 1810.

Your letter, my dear friend, of the 18th ultimo, comes like the refreshing dews of the evening on a thirsty soil. It recalls ancient as well as recent recollections, very dear to my heart. For five and thirty years we have walked together through a land of tribulations. Yet these have passed away, and so, I trust, will those of the present day. The toryism with which we struggled in '77, differed but in name from the federalism of '99, with which we struggled also; and the Anglicism of 1808, against

[1] Governor of New Hampshire.

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which we are now struggling, is but the same thing still in another form. It is a longing for a King, and an English King rather than any other. This is the true source of their sorrows and wailings.

The fear that Bonaparte will come over to us and conquer us also, is too chimerical to be genuine. Supposing him to have finished Spain and Portugal, he has yet England and Russia to subdue. The maxim of war was never sounder than in this case, not to leave an enemy in the rear; and especially where an insurrectionary flame is known to be under the embers, merely smothered, and ready to burst at every point. These two subdued, (and surely the Anglomen will not think the conquest of England alone a short work,) ancient Greece and Macedonia, the cradle of Alexander, his prototype, and Constantinople, the seat of empire for the world, would glitter more in his eye than our bleak mountains and rugged forests. Egypt, too, and the golden apples of Mauritania, have for more than half a century fixed the longing eyes of France; and with Syria, you know, he has an old affront to wipe out. Then come "Pontus and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia," the fine countries on the Euphrates and Tigris, the Oxus and Indus, and all beyond the Hyphasis, which bounded the glories of his Macedonian rival; with the invitations of his new British subjects on the banks of the Ganges, whom, after receiving under his protection the Mother country, he cannot refuse to visit. When all this is

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done and settled, and nothing of the old world remains unsubdued, he may turn to the new one. But will he attack us first, from whom he will get but hard knocks and no money? Or will he first lay hold of the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, and the diamonds of Brazil? A *republican* Emperor, from his affection to republics, independent of motives of expediency, must grant to ours the Cyclop's boon of being the last devoured. While all this is doing, we are to suppose the chapter of accidents read out, and that nothing can happen to cut short or to disturb his enterprises.

But the Anglomen, it seems, have found out a much safer dependence than all these chances of death or disappointment. That is, that we should first let England plunder us, as she has been doing for years, for fear Bonaparte should do it; and then ally ourselves with her, and enter into the war. A conqueror, whose career England could not arrest when aided by Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, she is now to destroy, with all these on his side, by the aid of the United States alone. This, indeed, is making us a mighty people. And what is to be our security, that when embarked for her in the war, she will not make a separate peace, and leave us in the lurch? Her good faith! The faith of a nation of merchants! The *Punica fides* of modern Carthage! Of the friend and protectress of Copenhagen! Of the nation who never admitted a chapter of morality into her political code! And

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is now boldly avowing that whatever power can make hers, is hers of right. Money, and not morality, is the principle of commerce and commercial nations. But, in addition to this, the nature of the English government forbids, of itself, reliance on her engagements; and it is well known she has been the least faithful to her alliances of any nation of Europe, since the period of her history wherein she has been distinguished for her commerce and corruption, that is to say, under the houses of Stuart and Brunswick. To Portugal alone she has steadily adhered, because, by her Methuin treaty, she had made it a colony, and one of the most valuable to her. It may be asked, what, in the nature of her government, unfits England for the observation of moral duties? In the first place, her King is a cypher; his only function being to name the oligarchy which is to govern her. The parliament is, by corruption, the mere instrument of the will of the administration. The real power and property in the government is in the great aristocratical families of the nation. The nest of office being too small for all of them to cuddle into at once, the contest is eternal, which shall crowd the other out. For this purpose, they are divided into two parties, the Ins and the Outs, so equal in weight that a small matter turns the balance. To keep themselves in, when they are in, every stratagem must be practised, every artifice used which may flatter the pride, the passions or power of the nation. Justice, honor, faith

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must yield to the necessity of keeping themselves in place. The question whether a measure is moral, is never asked; but whether it will nourish the avarice of their merchants, or the piratical spirit of their navy, or produce any other effect which may strengthen them in their places. As to engagements, however positive, entered into by the predecessors of the Ins, why, they were their enemies; they did everything which was wrong; and to reverse everything which they did, must, therefore, be right. This is the true character of the English government in practice, however different its theory; and it presents the singular phenomenon of a nation, the individuals of which are as faithful to their private engagements and duties, as honorable, as worthy, as those of any nation on earth, and whose government is yet the most unprincipled at this day known. In an absolute government there can be no such equiponderant parties. The despot is the government. His power suppressing all opposition, maintains his ministers firm in their places. What he has contracted, therefore, through them, he has the power to observe with good faith; and he identifies his own honor and faith with that of his nation.

When I observed, however, that the King of England was a cypher, I did not mean to confine the observation to the mere individual now on that throne. The practice of Kings marrying only in the families of Kings, has been that of Europe for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals,

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confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a stye, a stable or a state-room, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let everything bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law of nature, by that very law by which we are in the constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regimen in raising Kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries. While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederick, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a straight waistcoat. There

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remained, then, none but old Catharine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state Bonaparte found Europe; and it was this state of its rulers which lost it with scarce a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless; and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. Alexander, the grandson of Catharine, is as yet an exception. He is able to hold his own. But he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet worn out. And so endeth the book of Kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true, in His holy keeping.

TO ABBÉ SALIMANKIS.

MONTICELLO, March 14, 1810.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of February 27th and am very thankful for the friendly sentiments therein expressed towards myself, as well as for the pamphlet enclosed. That it contains many serious truths and sound admonitions every reader will be sensible. At the same time it is a comfort that the medal has two sides. I do not myself contemplate human nature in quite so sombre a view. That there is much vice and misery in the world, I know; but more virtue and happiness I believe, at least in our part of it; the latter being the lot of those employed in agriculture in a greater degree than of other callings. That we are overdone with

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banking institutions, which have banished the precious metals, and substituted a more fluctuating and unsafe medium, that these have withdrawn capital from useful improvements and employments to nourish idleness, that the wars of the world have swollen our commerce beyond the wholesome limits of exchanging our own productions for our own wants, and that, for the emolument of a small proportion of our society, who prefer these demoralizing pursuits to labors useful to the whole, the peace of the whole is endangered, and all our present difficulties produced, are evils more easily to be deplored than remedied. They should lead us to direct our prayers, if our philanthropy fails to do it, for the re-establishment of peace in Europe, when our commerce must of course return to its proper objects, and the idle to habits of industry. To these prayers, in which you will not fail to join, let me add my best wishes and respects for yourself.

TO ROBERT FULTON.

MONTICELLO, March 17, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor of February 24th covering one of your pamphlets on the Torpedo. I have read it with pleasure. This was not necessary to give them favor in my eye. I am not afraid of new inventions or improvements, nor bigoted to the practices of our forefathers. It is that bigotry which keeps the Indians in a state of

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barbarism in the midst of the arts, would have kept us in the same state even now, and still keeps Connecticut where their ancestors were when they landed on these shores. I am much pleased that Congress is taking up the business. Where a new invention is supported by well-known principles, and promises to be useful, it ought to be tried. Your torpedoes will be to cities what vaccination has been to mankind. It extinguishes their greatest danger. But there will still be navies. Not for the destruction of cities, but for the plunder of commerce on the high seas. That the tories should be against you is in character, because it will curtail the power of their idol, England.

I am thankful to you for the trouble you have taken in thinking of the felier hydraulique. To be put into motion by the same power which was to continue the motion was certainly wanting to that machine, as a better name still is. I would not give you the trouble of having a model made, as I have workmen who can execute from the drawing. I pray you to accept the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO G. VOOLIF, PERPETUAL SECRETARY OF THE FIRST CLASS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES, OF LITERATURE AND OF FINE ARTS, AT AMSTERDAM.

MONTICELLO, May 2, 1810.

SIR,—Your letter of the 10th of May of the last year came but lately to my hands. I am duly sen-

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sible of the honor done me by the first class of the Royal Institute of sciences, of literature, and of fine arts, in associating me to their class, and by the approbation which his Majesty the King of Holland has condescended to give to their choice. His patronage of institutions for extending among mankind the boundaries of information, proves his just sense of the cares devolved on him by his high station, and commands the approving voice of all the sons of men. If mine can be heard from this distance among them, it will be through the benefit of the special communication which your position may procure it, and which I am to request. I pray you to present also my thanks to the first class for this mark of their distinction, which I receive with due sensibility and gratitude. Sincerely a friend to science, and feeling the fraternal relation it establishes among the whole family of its votaries, wheresoever dispersed through nations friendly or hostile, I shall be happy at all times in fulfilling any particular views which the society may extend to this region of the globe, and in being made useful to them in any special services they will be pleased to give me an opportunity of rendering. To yourself, Sir, I tender the assurances of my particular respect and high consideration.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

MONTICELLO, May 3, 1810.

SIR,—Your favor of February 1st lately came to my hands. It brings me new proofs, in the resolutions it enclosed, of the indulgence with which the Legislature of Orleans has been pleased to view my conduct in the various duties assigned to me by our common country. The times in which we have lived have called for all the services which any of its citizens could render, and if mine have met approbation they are fully rewarded.

The interposition noticed by the Legislature of Orleans was an act of duty of the office I then occupied. Charged with the care of the general interest of the nation, and among these with the preservation of their lands from intrusion, I exercised, on their behalf, a right given by nature to all men, individual or associated, that of rescuing their own property wrongfully taken. In cases of forcible entry on individual possessions, special provisions, both of the common and civil law, have restrained the right of rescue by private force, and substituted the aid of the civil power. But no law has restrained the right of the nation itself from removing by its own arm, intruders on its possessions. On the contrary, a statute recently passed, had required that such removals should be diligently made. The Batture of New Orleans, being a part of the bed contained between the two banks of the river, a naked shoal

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indeed at low water, but covered through the whole season of its regular full tides, and then forming the ground of the port and harbor for the upper navigation, over which vessels ride of necessity when moored to the bank, I deemed it public property, in which all had a common use. The removal, too, of the force which had possessed itself of it, was the more urgent from the interruption it might give to the commerce, and other lawful uses, of the inhabitants of the city and of the western waters generally.

If this aid from the public authority was particularly interesting to the territory of Orleans, it certainly adds new satisfaction to my consciousness of having done what was right.

I ask the favor of you to convey to the Legislature of Orleans, my gratitude for the interest they are so kind as to express in my future happiness; and I pray to the Governor of the Universe, that He may always have them and our country in His holy keeping.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

MONTICELLO, May 3, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your letters of January 12th and February 1st, came to hand only a fortnight ago. The enclosed contains my answer to the latter, for communication to the legislature. So many false views on the subject of the batture have been presented in and out of Congress, that duty to myself,

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as well as justice to the citizens of New Orleans and of the western country generally, required that I should avail myself of the occasion these resolutions presented, of stating, in the fewest words possible, the true ground of my conduct, and, as I think, of the rights of the western country. But the occasion also restricted me to the limits of a short text only, every word of which would be matter for copious commentary, in a dilated discussion of the subject. Has Moreau de l'Isle's opinion ever been printed? I wish it were possible to get a copy of it. Perhaps I might be able to make good use of it.

Before the receipt of your letter of January 12th, I had heard of your great loss, and been impressed with the depth of it. Long tried in the same school of affliction, no loss which can rend the human heart is unknown to mine; and a like one particularly, at about the same period of life, had taught me to feel the sympathies of yours. The same experience has proved that time, silence and occupation are its only medicines. Of occupation, you have enough and of the highest order; that of continuing to make a worthy people happy by a just and parental government, and of protecting them from the wolves prowling around to devour them. Your own example will be the best lesson for the son which has been left to comfort you, to whose course in life I hope it will give a shape which shall make him truly a comfort and support to your latter days, protracted to your own wishes.

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I really wish effect to the hints in my letter to you for so laying off the additions to the city of New Orleans, as to shield it from yellow fever. My confidence in the idea is founded in the acknowledged experience that we have never seen the *genuine* yellow fever extend itself into the country, nor even to the outskirts or open parts of a close-built city. In the plan I propose, every square would be surrounded, on every side, by open and pure air, and would, in fact, be a separate town with fields or open suburbs around it.

TO MESSRS. HUGH L. WHITE, THOMAS M'CORRY, JAMES CAMPBELL, ROBERT CRAIGHEAD, JOHN N. GAMBLE, TRUSTEES FOR THE LOTTERY OF EAST TENNESSEE COLLEGE.

MONTICELLO, May 6, 1810.

GENTLEMEN,—I received, some time ago, your letter of February 28th, covering a printed scheme of a lottery for the benefit of the East Tennessee College, and proposing to send tickets to me to be disposed of. It would be impossible for them to come to a more inefficient hand. I rarely go from home, and consequently see but a few neighbors and friends, who occasionally call on me. And having myself made it a rule never to engage in a lottery or any other adventure of mere chance, I can, with the less candor or effect, urge it on others, however laudable or desirable its object may be.

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No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do, and none has greater confidence in its effect towards supporting free and good government. I am sincerely rejoiced, therefore, to find that so excellent a fund has been provided for this noble purpose in Tennessee. Fifty thousand dollars placed in a safe bank, will give four thousand dollars a year, and even without other aid, must soon accomplish buildings sufficient for the object in its early stage. I consider the common plan followed in this country, but not in others, of making one large and expensive building, as unfortunately erroneous. It is infinitely better to erect a small and separate lodge for each separate professorship, with only a hall below for his class, and two chambers above for himself; joining these lodges by barracks for a certain portion of the students, opening into a covered way to give a dry communication between all the schools. The whole of these arranged around an open square of grass and trees, would make it, what it should be in fact, an academical village, instead of a large and common den of noise, of filth and of fetid air. It would afford that quiet retirement so friendly to study, and lessen the dangers of fire, infection and tumult. Every professor would be the police officer of the students adjacent to his own lodge, which should include those of his own class of preference, and might be at the head of their table, if, as I suppose, it can be reconciled with the necessary economy

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to dine them in smaller and separate parties, rather than in a large and common mess. These separate buildings, too, might be erected successively and occasionally, as the number of professorships and students should be increased, or the funds become competent.

I pray you to pardon me if I have stepped aside into the province of counsel; but much observation and reflection on these institutions have long convinced me that the large and crowded buildings in which youths are pent up, are equally unfriendly to health, to study, to manners, morals and order; and, believing the plan I suggest to be more promotive of these, and peculiarly adapted to the slender beginnings and progressive growth of our institutions, I hoped you would pardon the presumption, in consideration of the motive which was suggested by the difficulty expressed in your letter, of procuring funds for erecting the building. But, on whatever plan you proceed, I wish it every possible success, and to yourselves the reward of esteem, respect and gratitude due to those who devote their time and efforts to render the youths of every successive age fit governors for the next. To these accept, in addition, the assurances of mine.

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (JAMES MADISON).

MONTICELLO, May 13, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your promised attention to my portion of the Merinos, and if there be any expenses of transportation, etc., and you will be so good as to advance my portion of them with yours and notify the amount, it shall be promptly remitted. What shall we do with them? I have been so disgusted with the scandalous extortions lately practiced in the sale of these animals, and with the description of patriotism and praise to the sellers, as if the thousands of dollars apiece they have not been ashamed to receive were not reward enough, that I am disposed to consider as right, whatever is the reverse of what they have done. Since fortune has put the occasion upon us, is it not incumbent upon us so to dispense this benefit to the farmers of our country, as to put to shame those who, forgetting their own wealth and the honest simplicity of the farmers, have thought them fit objects of the shaving art, and to excite, by a better example, the condemnation due to theirs? No sentiment is more acknowledged in the family of Agriculturists than that the few who can afford it should incur the risk and expense of all new improvements, and give the benefit freely to the many of more restricted circumstances. The question then recurs, What are we to do with them? I shall be willing to concur with

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you in any plan you shall approve, and in order that we may have some proposition to begin upon, I will throw out a first idea, to be modified or postponed to whatever you shall think better.

Give all the full-blooded males we can raise to the different counties of our State, one to each, as fast as we can furnish them. And as there must be some rule of priority for the distribution, let us begin with our own counties which are contiguous and nearly central to the State, and proceed, circle after circle, till we have given a ram to every county. This will take about seven years, if we add to the full descendants those which will have passed to the fourth generation from common ewes. To make the benefit of a single male as general as practicable to the county, we may ask some known character in each county to have a small society formed which shall receive the animal and prescribe rules for his care and government. We should retain ourselves all the full-blooded ewes, that they may enable us the sooner to furnish a male to every county. When all shall have been provided with rams, we may, in a year or two more, be in a condition to give an ewe also to every county, if it be thought necessary. But I suppose it will not, as four generations from their full-blooded ram will give them the pure race from common ewes.

In the meantime we shall not be without a profit indemnifying our trouble and expense. For if of our present stock of common ewes, we place with

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the ram as many as he may be competent to, suppose fifty, we may sell the male lambs of every year for such reasonable price as, in addition to the wool, will pay for the maintenance of the flock. The first year they will be half-bloods, the second three-quarters, the third seven-eighths, and the fourth full-blooded; if we take care in selling annually half the ewes also, to keep those of highest blood, this will be a fund for kindnesses to our friends, as well as for indemnification to ourselves; and our whole State may thus, from this small stock, so dispersed, be filled in a very few years with this valuable race, and more satisfaction result to ourselves than money ever administered to the bosom of a shaver. There will be danger that what is here proposed, though but an act of ordinary duty, may be perverted into one of ostentation, but malice will always find bad motives for good actions. Shall we therefore never do good? It may also be used to commit us with those on whose example it will truly be a reproof. We may guard against this perhaps by a proper reserve, developing our purpose only by its execution.

Vive, vale, et siquid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti sinon, his ulere mecum.

TO GOVERNOR JOHN TYLER.

MONTICELLO, May 26, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your friendly letter of the 12th has been duly received. Although I have laid it down

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as a law to myself, never to embarrass the President with my solicitations, and have not till now broken through it, yet I have made a part of your letter the subject of one to him, and have done it with all my heart, and in the full belief that I serve him and the public in urging that appointment. We have long enough suffered under the base prostitution of law to party passions in one judge, and the imbecility of another. In the hands of one the law is nothing more than an ambiguous text, to be explained by his sophistry into any meaning which may subserve his personal malice. Nor can any milk-and-water associate maintain his own dependence, and by a firm pursuance of what the law really is, extend its protection to the citizens or the public. I believe you will do it, and where you cannot induce your colleague to do what is right, you will be firm enough to hinder him from doing what is wrong, and by opposing sense to sophistry, leave the juries free to follow their own judgment.

I have long lamented with you the depreciation of law science. The opinion seems to be that Blackstone is to us what the Alcoran is to the Mahometans, that everything which is necessary is in him, and what is not in him is not necessary. I still lend my counsel and books to such young students as will fix themselves in the neighborhood. Coke's institutes and reports are their first, and Blackstone their last book, after an intermediate course of two or three years. It is nothing more than an elegant digest

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of what they will then have acquired from the real fountains of the law. Now, men are born scholars, lawyers, doctors; in our day, this was confined to poets. You wish to see me again in the legislature, but this is impossible; my mind is now so dissolved in tranquillity, that it can never again encounter a contentious assembly; the habits of thinking and speaking off-hand, after a disuse of five and twenty years, have given place to the slower process of the pen. I have indeed two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength. 1. That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom. 2. To divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it. But this division looks to many other fundamental provisions. Every hundred, besides a school, should have a justice of the peace, a constable and a captain of militia. These officers, or some others within the hundred, should be a corporation to manage all its concerns, to take care of its roads, its poor, and its police by patrols, etc. (as the selectmen of the eastern townships). Every hundred should elect one or two jurors to serve where requisite, and all other elections should be made in the hundreds separately, and the votes of all the hundreds be brought together. Our present captaincies might be declared hundreds for the present, with a power to the courts to alter them occasionally. These little

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republics would be the main strength of the great one. We owe to them the vigor given to our revolution in its commencement in the Eastern States, and by them the Eastern States were enabled to repeal the embargo in opposition to the Middle, Southern and Western States, and their large and lubberly division into counties which can never be assembled. General orders are given out from a centre to the foreman of every hundred, as to the sergeants of an army, and the whole nation is thrown into energetic action, in the same direction in one instant and as one man, and becomes absolutely irresistible. Could I once see this I should consider it as the dawn of the salvation of the republic, and say with old Simeon, "nunc dimittis Domine." But our children will be as wise as we are, and will establish in the fullness of time those things not yet ripe for establishment. So be it, and to yourself health, happiness and long life.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, COUNT PAHLEN, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF RUSSIA.

MONTICELLO, July 13, 1810.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter of the 25th ultimo, and have to return you my thanks for those of Madame de Tessé and General La Fayette, and for the print of Baron Humboldt, all of which are come safely to hand, and present to me the proofs

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and recollections of their much-valued friendships. To these acknowledgments, permit me to add my congratulations on your safe arrival in the United States, after journeys and voyages which, from their length, cannot have been pleasant. If, after this, it shall be found that a change of twenty degrees of latitude shall have no unfavorable influence on your health, it will furnish double cause of felicitation.

I am much flattered by the kind notice of the Emperor, which you have been so obliging as to communicate to me. The approbation of the good is always consoling; but that of a sovereign whose station and endowments are so pre-eminent, is received with the sensibility which the veneration for his character inspires. Among other motives of commiseration which the calamities of Europe cannot fail to excite in every virtuous mind, the interruption which these have given to the benevolent views of the Emperor is prominent. The accession of a sovereign, with the dispositions and qualifications to improve the condition of a great nation, and to place its happiness on a permanent basis, is a phenomenon so rare in the annals of mankind, that, when the blessing occurs, it is lamentable that any portion of it should be usurped by occurrences of the character of those we have seen. If, separated from these scenes by an ocean of a thousand leagues breadth, they have required all our cares to keep aloof from their desolating effects, I

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can readily conceive how much more they must occupy those to whose territories they are contiguous.

That the Emperor may be able, whenever a pacification takes place, to show himself the father and friend of the human race, to restore to nations the moral laws which have governed their intercourse, and to prevent, forever, a repetition of those ravages by sea and land, which will distinguish the present as an age of Vandalism, I sincerely pray.

I consider as a happy augury, the choice which the Emperor has made of a person to reside near our government, so distinguished by his dispositions and qualifications to cherish the friendship and the interests of both nations. With my best wishes that your residence among us may be rendered entirely agreeable, and be accompanied with the blessing of health, accept the assurances of my great respect and consideration.

TO C. G. G. BOTTA.

MONTICELLO, July 15, 1810.

SIR,—I am honored with your letter of the 12th of January, and although the work you therein mention is not yet come to hand, I avail myself of an occasion, now rendered rare and precarious between our two countries, of anticipating the obligation I shall owe for the pleasure I shall have in perusing it, and of travelling over with you the important scenes, *quorum pars minima fui*, scenes which have given

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an impulsion to the world, which, as to ourselves, has been a great blessing, but whether to Europe or not, can only be estimated by Him who sees the future as well as the present and past. We are certainly indebted to those who think our revolution worthy of their pen, and who will do justice to our actions and motives; and to yourself I have no doubt we shall owe this obligation, and I now make you my acknowledgments with confidence and pleasure. It will be a worthy preface to the history of this age of revolutions, to be ended we know not when nor how. I pray you to accept the assurances of my great respect and consideration.

TO WILLIAM LAMBERT.

MONTICELLO, July 16, 1810.

SIR,—An indispensable piece of business which has occupied me for a month past, obliged me to suspend all correspondence during that time. This must apologize for my late acknowledgment of your favor of May 19th, and for the tardy expression of my thanks for so much of the papers you enclosed as respected myself. The approbation of my political conduct by my republican countrymen generally, is a pillow of sweet repose to me, undisturbed by the noise of the enemies to our form of government. The political sentiments expressed by your society, are in the pure spirit of the principles of our revolution; so long as these prevail, we are safe from

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everything which can assail us from without or within.

Your several communications on the first meridian, have been regularly handed to the Philosophical Society; not corresponding regularly with any of the members, I have received no information respecting them. I have formerly observed to you that while I entertain no doubt of their accuracy, my own familiarity with the subject had been too long suspended, to enable me to render a critical opinion on them. My occupations here are almost exclusively given to my farm and affairs. They furnish me exercise, health and amusement, and with the recreations of family and neighborly society, fill up most of my time, and give a tranquillity necessary to my time of life. With my best wishes for your prosperity, accept the assurances of my esteem and respect.

TO GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN.

MONTICELLO, July 16, 1810.

DEAR GENERAL AND FRIEND,—Your favor of May the 31st was duly received, and I join in congratulations with you on the resurrection of republican principles in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the hope that the professors of these principles will not again easily be driven off their ground. The federalists, during their short-lived ascendency, have nevertheless, by forcing us from the embargo,

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inflicted a wound on our interests which can never be cured, and on our affections which will require time to cicatrize. I ascribe all this to one pseudo-republican, Story. He came on (in place of Crowninshield, I believe) and staid only a few days; long enough, however, to get complete hold of Bacon, who, giving in to his representations, became panic-struck, and communicated his panic to his colleagues, and they to a majority of the sound members of Congress. They believed in the alternative of repeal or civil war, and produced the fatal measure of repeal. This is the immediate parent of all our present evils, and has reduced us to a low standing in the eyes of the world. I should think that even the federalists themselves must now be made, by their feelings, sensible of their error. The wealth which the embargo brought home safely, has now been thrown back into the laps of our enemies, and our navigation completely crushed, and by the unwise and unpatriotic conduct of those engaged in it. Should the orders prove genuine, which are said to have been given against our fisheries, they too are gone; and if not true as yet, they will be true on the first breeze of success which England shall feel, for it has now been some years that I am perfectly satisfied her intentions have been to claim the ocean as her conquest, and prohibit any vessel from navigating it, but on such a tribute as may enable her to keep up such a standing navy as will maintain her dominion over it. She has hauled in, or let herself

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out, been bold or hesitating, according to occurrences, but has in no situation done anything which might amount to a relinquishment of her intentions. I have ever been anxious to avoid a war with England, unless forced by a situation more losing than war itself. But I did believe we could coerce her to justice by peaceable means, and the embargo, evaded as it was, proved it would have coerced her had it been honestly executed. The proof she exhibited on that occasion, that she can exercise such an influence in this country as to control the will of its government and three-fourths of its people, and oblige the three-fourths to submit to one-fourth, is to me the most mortifying circumstance which has occurred since the establishment of our government. The only prospect I see of lessening that influence, is in her own conduct, and not from anything in our power. Radically hostile to our navigation and commerce, and fearing its rivalry, she will completely crush it, and force us to resort to agriculture, not aware that we shall resort to manufactures also, and render her conquests over our navigation and commerce useless, at least, if not injurious to herself in the end, and perhaps salutary to us, as removing out of our way the chief causes and provocations to war.

But these are views which concern the present and future generation, among neither of which I count myself. You may live to see the change in our pursuits, and chiefly in those of your own

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State, which England will effect. I am not certain that the change on Massachusetts, by driving her to agriculture, manufactures and emigration, will lessen her happiness. But once more to be done with politics. How does Mrs. Dearborn do? How do you both like your situation? Do you amuse yourself with a garden, a farm, or what? That your pursuits, whatever they be, may make you both easy, healthy and happy, is the prayer of your sincere friend.

TO JUDGE THOMAS COOPER.

MONTICELLO, August 6, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—The tardiness of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of May 10th will I fear induce a presumption that I have been negligent of its contents, but I assure you I lost not a moment in endeavoring to fulfil your wishes in procuring a good geological correspondent in this State. I could not offer myself, because of all the branches of science it was the one I had the least cultivated. Our researches into the texture of our globe could be but so superficial, compared with its vast interior construction, that I saw no safety of conclusion from the one, as to the other; and therefore have pointed my own attentions to other objects in preference, as far as a heavy load of business would permit me to attend to anything else. Looking about, therefore, among my countrymen for some one who

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might answer your views, I fixed on Mr. Joseph C. Cabell, not long since returned from France, where he had attended particularly to chemistry, and had also attended Mr. Maclure in some of his geological expeditions, as best qualified. I wrote to him; unfortunately he was from home, and did not return till the latter end of July. I received his answer since our last post only. A diffidence in his qualifications to be useful to you, has induced him to decline the undertaking, having, as he assures me, paid no particular attention to that branch of science. I have in vain looked over our State for some other person who might contribute to your views. As yet I can think of nobody; and whatever may be the result of further inquiry, I have thought I ought not longer to delay informnig you of my unsuccessful efforts so far. Should I be able to find a subject worthy of your correspondence, I shall not fail to engage him in it, and to give you notice. I thank you for the case of Dempsy *v.* the Insurers, which I have read with great pleasure, and entire conviction. Indeed it is high time to withdraw all respect from courts acting under the arbitrary orders of governments who avow a total disregard to those moral rules which have hitherto been acknowledged by nations, and have served to regulate and govern their intercourse. I should respect just as much the rules of conduct which governed Cartouche or Blackbeard, as those now acted on by France or England. If your argument is defective in anything, it is in having

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paid to the antecedent decisions of the British courts of admiralty, the respect of examining them on grounds of reason; and the not having rested the decision at once on the profligacy of those tribunals, and openly declared against permitting their sentences to be ever more quoted or listened to until those nations return to the practice of justice, to an acknowledgment that there is a moral law which ought to govern mankind, and by sufficient evidences of contrition for their present flagitiousness, make it safe to receive them again into the society of civilized nations. I hope this will still be done on a proper occasion. Yet knowing that religion does not furnish grosser bigots than law, I expect little from old judges. Those now at the bar may be bold enough to follow reason rather than precedent, and may bring that principle on the bench when promoted to it; but I fear this effort is not for my day. It has been said that when Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, there was not a physician of Europe of forty years of age, who ever assented to it. I fear you will experience Harvey's fate. But it will become law when the resent judges are dead. Wishing you health and happiness at all times, accept the assurances of my constant and great esteem and respect.

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TO COLONEL WILLIAM DUANE.

MONTICELLO, August 12, 1810.

SIR,—Your letter of July 16th has been duly received, with the paper it enclosed, for which accept my thanks, and especially for the kind sentiments expressed towards myself. These testimonies of approbation, and friendly remembrance, are the highest gratifications I can receive from any, and especially from those in whose principles and zeal for the public good I have confidence. Of that confidence in yourself the military appointment to which you allude was sufficient proof, as it was made, not on the recommendations of others, but on our own knowledge of your principles and qualifications. While I cherish with feeling the recollections of my friends, I banish from my mind all political animosities which might disturb its tranquillity, or the happiness I derive from my present pursuits. I have thought it among the most fortunate circumstances of my late administration that, during its eight years continuance, it was conducted with a cordiality and harmony among all the members, which never were ruffled on any, the greatest or smallest occasion. I left my brethren with sentiments of sincere affection and friendship, so rooted in the uniform tenor of a long and intimate intercourse, that the evidence of my own senses alone ought to be permitted to shake them. Anxious, in my retirement, to enjoy undisturbed repose, my

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knowledge of my successor and late coadjutors, and my entire confidence in their wisdom and integrity, were assurances to me that I might sleep in security with such watchmen at the helm, and that whatever difficulties and dangers should assail our course, they would do what could be done to avoid or surmount them. In this confidence I envelope myself, and hope to slumber on to my last sleep. And should difficulties occur which they cannot avert, if we follow them in phalanx, we shall surmount them without danger.

I have been long intending to write to you as one of the associated company for printing useful works.

Our laws, language, religion, politics and manners are so deeply laid in English foundations, that we shall never cease to consider their history as a part of ours, and to study ours in that as its origin. Every one knows that judicious matter and charms of style have rendered Hume's history the manual of every student. I remember well the enthusiasm with which I devoured it when young, and the length of time, the research and reflection which were necessary to eradicate the poison it had instilled into my mind. It was unfortunate that he first took up the history of the Stuarts, became their apologist, and advocated all their enormities. To support his work, when done, he went back to the Tudors, and so selected and arranged the materials of their history as to present their arbitrary acts only, as the genuine samples of the constitutional power of the

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crown, and, still writing backwards, he then reverted to the early history, and wrote the Saxon and Norman periods with the same perverted view. Although all this is known, he still continues to be put into the hands of all our young people, and to infect them with the poison of his own principles of government. It is this book which has undermined the free principles of the English government, has persuaded readers of all classes that these were usurpations on the legitimate and salutary rights of the crown, and has spread universal toryism over the land. And the book will still continue to be read here as well as there. Baxter, one of Horne Tooke's associates in persecution, has hit on the only remedy the evil admits. He has taken Hume's work, corrected in the text his misrepresentations, supplied the truths which he suppressed, and yet has given the mass of the work in Hume's own words. And it is wonderful how little interpolation has been necessary to make it a sound history, and to justify what should have been its title, to wit, "Hume's history of England abridged and rendered faithful to fact and principle." I cannot say that his amendments are either in matter or manner in the fine style of Hume. Yet they are often unperceived, and occupy so little of the whole work as not to depreciate it. Unfortunately he has *abridged* Hume, by leaving out all the less important details. It is thus reduced to about one-half its original size. He has also continued the history, but very summarily, to 1801. The whole

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work is of 834 quarto pages, printed close, of which the continuation occupies 283. I have read but little of this part. As far as I can judge from that little, it is a mere chronicle, offering nothing profound. This work is so unpopular, so distasteful to the present Tory palates and principles of England, that I believe it has never reached a second edition. I have often inquired for it in our book shops, but never could find a copy in them, and I think it possible the one I imported may be the only one in America. Can we not have it re-printed here? It would be about four volumes 8vo.

I have another enterprise to propose for some good printer. I have in my possession a MS. work in French, confided to me by a friend, whose name alone would give it celebrity were it permitted to be mentioned. But considerations insuperable forbid that. It is a Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. The history of that work is well known. He had been a great reader, and had commonplaced everything he read. At length he wished to undertake some work into which he could bring his whole commonplace book in a digested form. He fixed on the subject of his Spirit of Laws, and wrote the book. He consulted his friend Helvetius about publishing it, who strongly dissuaded it. He published it, however, and the world did not confirm Helvetius' opinion. Still, every man who reflects as he reads, has considered it as a book of paradoxes; having, indeed, much of truth

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and sound principle, but abounding also with inconsistencies, apocryphal facts and false inferences. It is a correction of these which has been executed in the work I mention, by way of commentary and review; not by criticising words or sentences, but by taking a book at a time, considering its general scope and proceeding to confirm or confute it. And much of confutation there is, and of substitution of true for false principle, and the true principle is ever that of republicanism. I will not venture to say that every sentiment in the book will be approved, because, being in manuscript, and the French characters, I have not read the whole, but so much only as might enable me to estimate the soundness of the author's way of viewing his subject; and, judging from that which I have read, I infer with confidence that we shall find the work generally worthy of our high approbation, and that it everywhere maintains the preëminence of representative government, by showing that its foundations are laid in reason, in right, and in general good. I had expected this from my knowledge of the other writings of the author, which have always a precision rarely to be met with. But to give you an idea of the manner of its execution, I translate and enclose his commentary on Montesquieu's eleventh book, which contains the division of the work. I wish I could have added his review at the close of the twelve first books, as this would give a more complete idea of the extraordinary merit of the work. But it is too long to

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be copied. I add from it, however, a few extracts of his reviews of some of the books, as specimens of his plan and principles. If printed in French, it would be of about 180 pages 8vo, or 23 sheets. If any one will undertake to have it translated and printed on their own account, I will send on the MS. by post, and they can take the copyright as of an original work, which it ought to be understood to be. I am anxious it should be ably translated by some one who possesses style as well as capacity to do justice to abstruse conceptions. I would even undertake to revise the translation if required. The original sheets must be returned to me, and I should wish the work to be executed with as little delay as possible.

I close this long letter with assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, August 16, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of July 14th, with the welcome paper it covered, has been most thankfully received. I had before received from your office and that of State, all the printed publications on the subject of the batture, that is to say, the opinion of the Philadelphia lawyers and of G. Livingston himself, the publications of Derbigny, Thierry, Poydras, and the *pieces probantes*. I had been very anxious to get Moreau's Memoire, which is only in manuscript,

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having heard it was the best of all. After waiting long and in vain for it, I was informed by my counsel that they were ruled to plead, and must be furnished with the grounds of defence. I was obliged, therefore, to take up the subject—had got through it and put it into the hands of Mr. Hay, when the observations you were so kind as to furnish, came to hand. Although it was too late to give to everything its shape which these, at an earlier stage, might have suggested, I was still enabled to avail myself of them usefully. The question of the chancery jurisdiction of the Orleans judges had particularly escaped me, and entirely. When Mr. Hay returned the paper therefore, I was enabled, by re-copying a sheet or two at the close, to introduce this question in its proper place. I had also, till then, been uninformed of the circumstances under which Bertrand Gravier left France, and therefore had not been aware of the reasons for which John Gravier had chosen to come in by purchase. This information enabled me to extend and strengthen much of what I had before said on that subject; and by interleaving and re-copying a part, to get that also into its proper place. On the whole, you will see, with the benefit of these amendments, what I had conceived to be a true statement of the fact and law of the case. But the paper is very voluminous, and I could not shorten it. It is now in the hands of the President, who will enclose it to you by the same post which carries this; when you shall have perused it, be so good as

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to re-enclose it to me, as I wish to submit it to our other fellow laborers, after such amendments as Mr. Madison and yourself will be so good as to suggest. I wish the ground I take to meet all your approbations. The uninformed state in which the debates of the last session proved Congress to be, as to this case, makes me fear they may, at the next, under the intrigues and urgency of Livingston, be induced to take some step which might have an injurious effect on the opinion of a jury. I think, therefore, to ask a member or two of each house to read this statement, merely to make themselves masters of the subject, and be enabled to prevent any unfavorable interference of Congress. Perhaps, if they see the case in the light I do, they may think of doing more—of having the Attorney General desired to attend to the case as of public concern: for really it is so. I have no concern at all in maintaining the title to the batture. It would be totally unnecessary for me to employ counsel to go into the question at all for my own defence. That is solidly built on the simple fact, that if I were in error, it was honest, and not imputable to that gross and palpable corruption or injustice which makes a public magistrate responsible to a private party. I know that even a federal jury could not find a verdict against me on this head. But I go fully into the question of title, because our characters are concerned in it, and because it involves a most important right of the citizens, and one which, if decided against them,

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would be a precedent of incalculable evil. The detention, too, has been so long the act of Congress itself that for this reason I have supposed they might think it entitled to their attention, and direct the Attorney General to take care of the public interest in it, as has lately been done by the House of Commons, in the action of Sir Francis Burdett against their Speaker. But on this subject I wish to be advised by yourself and my other friends, rather than trust to my own judgment, too likely to be under bias. If I send the case to be perused by two or three members, it will be under a strong injunction not to let its contents get into other hands, my counsel having strongly advised against apprising them of the topics of defence, as well from apprehensions of subornation of witnesses as to material facts, as from other considerations. Pray advise me on this head. My counsel are Hay, Wirt and Tazewell.

I have seen with infinite grief the set which is made at you in the public papers, and with the more as my name has been so much used in it. I hope we both know one another too well to receive impression from circumstances of this kind. A twelve years' intimate and friendly intercourse must be better evidence to each of the dispositions of the other than the letters of foreign ministers to their courts, or tortured influences from facts true or false. I have too thorough a conviction of your cordial good will towards me, and too strong a sense of the faithful

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and able assistance I received from you, to relinquish them on any evidence but of my own senses. With entire faith in your assurance of these truths, I shall add those only of my constant affection and high respect.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM DUANE.

MONTICELLO, September 16, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of August 17th arrived the day after I had left this place on a visit to one I have near Lynchburg, from whence I am but lately returned. The history of England you describe is precisely Baxter's, of which I wrote you; and if you compare him with Hume, you will find the text preserved verbatim, with particular exceptions only. The French work will accompany this letter. Since writing to you I have gone over the whole, and can assure you it is the most valuable political work of the present age. In some details we all may differ from him or from one another, but the great mass of the work is highly sound. Its title would be "A Commentary on Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws;" perhaps the words "and Review" might be inserted at the ———. Helvetius' letter on the same work should be annexed, if it can possibly be procured. It was contained in a late edition of the works of Helvetius published by the Abbé de la Roche. Probably that edition might be found. I never before heard of Williams' lectures on Montesquieu

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but I am glad to hear of everything which reduces that author to his just level, as his predilection for monarchy, and the English monarchy in particular, has done mischief everywhere, and here also, to a certain degree. With respect to the Notes on Virginia, I do contemplate some day the making additions and corrections to them; but I am inclined to take the benefit of my whole life to make collections and observations, and let the editing them be posthumous. The anecdote respecting the paper put into my hands by Dr. Franklin has not been handed to you with entire correctness. I returned from France in December, 1789, and in March following I went on to New York to take the post assigned me in the new government. On my way through Philadelphia I called on Dr. Franklin, who was then confined to his bed. As the revolution had then begun, indeed was supposed to be closed by the completion of a constitution, and he was anxious to know the part all his acquaintances had taken, he plied me with questions for an hour or two with a vivacity and earnestness which astonished me. When I had satisfied his inquiries, I observed to him that I had heard, and with great pleasure, that he had begun the history of his own life, and had brought it down to the revolution (for so I had heard while in Europe). "Not exactly so," said he, "but I will let you see the manner in which I do these things." He then desired one of his small grandchildren who happened to be in the room, to bring him such a

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paper from the table. It was brought, and he put it into my hands and said, "There, put that into your pocket and you will see the manner of my writing." I thanked him and said "I should read it with great pleasure, and return it to him safely." "No," said he, "keep it." I took it with me to New York. It was, as well as I recollect, about a quire of paper, in which he had given, with great minuteness, all the details of his negotiations (informal) in England, to prevent their pushing us to extremities. These were chiefly through Lord Howe and a lady, I think the sister of Lord Howe, but of this I am not certain; but I remember noting the particulars of her conversation as marking her as a woman of very superior understanding. He gave all the conversations with her and Lord Howe, and all the propositions he passed through them to their minister, the answers and conversations with the minister reported through them, his endeavors used with other characters, whether with the ministers directly I do not recollect; but I remember well that it appeared distinctly from what was brought to him from the ministers, that the real obstacle to their meeting the various overtures he made was the prospect of great confiscations to provide for their friends, and that this was the real cause of the various shiftings and shufflings they used to evade his propositions. Learning, on his death, which happened soon after, that he had bequeathed all his unpublished writings to his grandson, W. T. Franklin, with a view to the emolument

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he might derive from their publication, I thought this writing was fairly his property, and notified to him my possession of it, and that I would deliver it to his order. He soon afterwards called on me at New York, and I delivered it to him. He accepted it, and, while putting it into his pocket, observed that his grandfather had retained another copy which he had found among his papers. I did not reflect on this till suspicions were circulated that W. T. F. had sold these writings to the British Minister. I then formed the belief that Dr. Franklin had meant to deposit this spare copy with me in confidence that it would be properly taken care of, and sincerely repented the having given it up; and I have little doubt that this identical paper was the principal object of the purchase by the British government, and the unfortunate cause of the suppression of all the rest. I do not think I have any interesting papers or facts from Dr. Franklin. Should any occur at any time, I will communicate them freely, nobody wishing more ardently that the public could be possessed of everything that was his or respected him. believing that a greater or better character has rarely existed. I am happy to learn that his blood shows itself in the veins of the two of his great-grandchildren whom you mention. But I should think medicine the best profession for a genius resembling his, as that of the elder is supposed to do. I have received information of Pestalozzi's mode of education from some European publica-

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tions, and from Mr. Keefe's book which shows that the latter possesses both the talents and the zeal for carrying it into effect. I sincerely wish it success, convinced that the information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole depository of our political and religious freedom. The idea of antimony in this neighborhood is, I believe, without foundation. Some twenty or thirty years ago a mineral was found about ten miles from this place, which one of those idle impostors, who cal themselves mine-hunters, persuaded the proprietor was gold ore. The poor man lost a crop in digging after it. After fruitless assays of the mineral, some other person, knowing as little of the matter, fancied it must be antimony. A third idea was that it was black lead. It was abandoned, and the mine hole filled up, nor can we at this day hear of any piece of the mineral in possession of any one.

You say in your letter that you will send me the *proofs* of the commentary on Montesquieu for revisal. It is only the *translation* I should wish to revise. I feel myself answerable to the author for a correct publication of his ideas. The translated sheets may come by post as they are finished off; they shall be promptly returned, the originals coming with them. Accept the assurances of my esteem and respect.

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TO J. B. COLVIN.

MONTICELLO, September 20, 1810.

SIR,—Your favor of the 14th has been duly received, and I have to thank you for the many obliging things respecting myself which are said in it. If I have left in the breasts of my fellow citizens a sentiment of satisfaction with my conduct in the transaction of their business, it will soften the pillow of my repose through the residue of life.

The question you propose, whether circumstances do not sometimes occur, which make it a duty in officers of high trust, to assume authorities beyond the law, is easy of solution in principle, but sometimes embarrassing in practice. A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless *one* of the high duties of a good citizen, but it is not *the highest*. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means. When, in the battle of Germantown, General Washington's army was annoyed from Chew's house, he did not hesitate to plant his cannon against it. although the property of a citizen. When he besieged Yorktown, he leveled the suburbs, feeling that the laws of property must be postponed to the safety of the nation. While the army was

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before York, the Governor of Virginia took horses, carriages, provisions and even men by force, to enable that army to stay together till it could master the public enemy; and he was justified. A ship at sea in distress for provisions, meets another having abundance, yet refusing a supply; the law of self-preservation authorizes the distressed to take a supply by force. In all these cases, the unwritten laws of necessity, of self-preservation, and of the public safety, control the written laws of *meum* and *tuum*. Further to exemplify the principle, I will state an hypothetical case Suppose it had been made known to the Executive of the Union in the autumn of 1805, that we might have the Floridas for a reasonable sum, that that sum had not indeed been so appropriated by law, but that Congress were to meet within three weeks, and might appropriate it on the first or second day of their session. Ought he, for so great an advantage to his country, to have risked himself by transcending the law and making the purchase? The public advantage offered, in this supposed case, was indeed immense; but a reverence for law, and the probability that the advantage might still be *legally* accomplished by a delay of only three weeks, were powerful reasons against hazarding the act. But suppose it foreseen that a John Randolph would find means to protract the proceeding on it by Congress, until the ensuing spring, by which time new circumstances would change the mind of the other party. Ought the

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Executive, in that case, and with that foreknowledge, to have secured the good to his country, and to have trusted to their justice for the transgression of the law? I think he ought, and that the act would have been approved. After the affair of the Chesapeake, we thought war a very possible result. Our magazines were illy provided with some necessary articles, nor had any appropriations been made for their purchase. We ventured, however, to provide them, and to place our country in safety; and stating the case to Congress, they sanctioned the act.

To proceed to the conspiracy of Burr, and particularly to General Wilkinson's situation in New Orleans. In judging this case, we are bound to consider the state of the information, correct and incorrect, which he then possessed. He expected Burr and his band from above, a British fleet from below, and he knew there was a formidable conspiracy within the city. Under these circumstances, was he justifiable, 1st, in seizing notorious conspirators? On this there can be but two opinions: one, of the guilty and their accomplices; the other, that of all honest men. 2d. In sending them to the seat of government, when the written law gave them a right to trial in the territory? The danger of their rescue, of their continuing their machinations, the tardiness and weakness of the law, apathy of the judges, active patronage of the whole tribe of lawyers, unknown disposition of the juries, an hourly expectation of the enemy, salvation of the city, and

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of the Union itself, which would have been convulsed to its centre, had that conspiracy succeeded; all these constituted a law of necessity and self-preservation, and rendered the *salus populi* supreme over the written law. The officer who is called to act on this superior ground, does indeed risk himself on the justice of the controlling powers of the Constitution, and his station makes it his duty to incur that risk. But those controlling powers, and his fellow citizens generally, are bound to judge according to the circumstances under which he acted. They are not to transfer the information of this place or moment to the time and place of his action; but to put themselves into his situation. We knew here that there never was danger of a British fleet from below, and that Burr's band was crushed before it reached the Mississippi. But General Wilkinson's information was very different, and he could act on no other.

From these examples and principles you may see what I think on the question proposed. They do not go to the case of persons charged with petty duties, where consequences are trifling, and time allowed for a legal course, nor to authorize them to take such cases out of the written law. In these, the example of overleaping the law is of greater evil than a strict adherence to its imperfect provisions. It is incumbent on those only who accept of great charges, to risk themselves on great occasions, when the safety of the nation, or some of its very high interests

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are at stake. An officer is bound to obey orders; yet he would be a bad one who should do it in cases for which they were not intended, and which involved the most important consequences. The line of discrimination between cases may be difficult; but the good officer is bound to draw it at his own peril, and throw himself on the justice of his country and the rectitude of his motives.

I have indulged freer views on this question, on your assurances that they are for your own eye only, and that they will not get into the hands of newswriters. I met their scurrilities without concern, while in pursuit of the great interests with which I was charged. But in my present retirement, no duty forbids my wish for quiet.

Accept the assurances of my esteem and respect.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(ROBERT SMITH).

MONTICELLO, September 22, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I have wanted the occasion of the present enclosure to perform the duty of my thanks for the kind communication of papers from your office in the question between Livingston and myself. These have mainly enabled me to give a correct statement of facts. I deferred proceeding to a particular consideration of the case in hopes of the aid of Moreau's Memoire, which I have understood to be the ablest which has been written. But I was

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at length forced to proceed without it, my counsel informing me they were ruled to plead, and must therefore know the grounds of defence. You will see what I have made of it by the enclosed, which I forward in the hope you will consider and correct it. I have done this the rather because I presume all my fellow laborers feel an interest in what all approved, and because I think I should urge nothing which they disapprove. Will you then do me the favor to put on paper such corrections as you would advise, and forward them to me, handing on the enclosed paper at the same time to Mr. Rodney? I wrote him by this post that he may expect it from you, and I ask the same favor of correction from him, and above all to delay as little as possible, because time presses to give to this paper its ultimate form. My counsel press me earnestly not to let the topics of defence get out, so as to be known to the adversary. Although I know Congress will be strongly urged, yet I hope they will take no measure which may impress a jury unfavorably, by inferences not intended. And were the case to be thought to belong to the public, still I believe it better they should let it come on, on the footing of a private action. I pray you to be assured of my constant affection and respect.

September 26th. Sent a P. S. verbatim, the same as that to Mr. Rodney.

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TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES (CÆSAR A. RODNEY).

MONTICELLO, September 25, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for your kind letter of June 8th, and the suggestions it furnished on the question whether Livingston could maintain an action in Richmond for a trespass committed in Orleans. This being a question of common law, I leave it to my counsel so much more recent than I am in that branch of law. I have undertaken to furnish them with the grounds of my defence under the *lex loci*. I wished for the aid of Moreau's Memoire because it is understood to be the ablest of any. However, my counsel being ruled to plead, and pressing me for the grounds of defence, I proceeded to consider the case, meaning at first only an outline, but I got insensibly into the full discussion, which became very voluminous, and the more so as it was necessary not only to enter all the authorities at large in the text, because few possess them, but also translations of them, because all do not understand all the languages in which they are. Believing my late associates in the executive would feel an interest in the justification of a conduct in which all concurred, and also in the issue of it, I have thought it a duty to consult them as to the grounds to be taken, and to take none against their advice. My statement has therefore been submitted to the President, Mr. Smith and Mr. Gallatin, and

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will be forwarded to you by Mr. Smith as soon as he shall have read it. I have to request your consideration and corrections of it, and that you will be so good as to furnish them on a separate paper. I am obliged also to ask an immediate attention to them, because time presses to give to this paper its ultimate shape, to plead, and collect the evidence. Its early return to me therefore is urging. I do not know whether my counsel (Hay, Wirt and Tazewell) have pleaded to the jurisdiction. * * * * * * The death of Cushing is opportune, as it gives an opening for at length getting a republican majority on the supreme bench. Ten years has the anticivism of that body been bidding defiance to the spirit of the whole nation, after they had manifested their will by reforming every other branch of the government. I trust the occasion will not be lost; Bidwell's disgrace withdraws the ablest man of the section in which Cushing's successor must be named. The pure integrity, unimpeachable conduct, talents and republican firmness of Lincoln, leave him now, I think, without a rival. He is thought not an able *common* lawyer. But there is not and never was an able one in the New England States. Their system is *sui generis*, in which the common law is little attended to. Lincoln is one of the ablest in their system, and it is among them he is to execute the great portion of his duties. Nothing is more material than to complete the reformation of the government by this appointment, which may truly be said

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to be putting the keystone into the arch. In my statement of the law of Livingston's case, I do not pretend to consider every argument as perfectly sound. I have, as is usual, availed myself of some views, which may have a weight with others which they have not with me. I have no right to assume infallibility, and I present them, therefore, *ut valeant ubi possint*. Accept the assurances of my constant and affectionate esteem.

P. S. September 26. In my letter of yesterday, I have omitted to observe, with respect to the arrangement of materials in the paper it speaks of, that it is not such as counsel would employ in pleading a cause. It was determined by other considerations. I thought it very possible the case might be dismissed out of court by a plea to the jurisdiction. I determined, on this event, to lay it before the public, either directly or through Congress. Respect for my associates, for myself, for our nation, would not permit me to come forward, as a criminal under accusation, to plead and argue a cause. This was not my situation. This would naturally be by way of narrative or statement of the facts in their order of time, establishing these facts as they occur, and bringing forward the law arising on them, and pointing to the Executive the course he was to pursue. I supposed it more dignified to present it as a history and explanation of what had taken place. It does not, indeed, in that form, display the subject in one

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great whole, but it brings forward successively a number of questions, solving themselves as they arise, and leaving no one unexamined. And the mind, after travelling over the whole case, and finding as it goes along that all has been considered and all is right, rests in that state of satisfaction which it is our object to produce. In truth, I have never known a case which presented so many distinct questions, having no dependence on one another, nor belonging even to the same branches of jurisprudence.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, September 27, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 10th came safely to hand, and laid me under new obligations for the valuable observations it contained. The error of twelve feet instead of seven, for the rise of the batture, really *sautoit aux yeux*, and how I could have committed it at first, or passed it over afterwards without discovery, and having copied Pelletier's plan myself, is unaccountable. I have adopted also most of your other corrections. You observe that the arguments proving the batture public, yet prove it of such a character that it could not be within the scope of the law of March 4th, against squatters. I should so adjudge myself; yet I observe many opinions otherwise, and in defence against a spadassin, it is lawful to use all weapons. Besides, I have no pretensions

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to be exclusively the judge of what arguments are sound and what not. I give them, therefore, that they may weigh with those who think they have weight and have a right to decide for themselves. That act of Congress, moreover, was evidently respected, particularly in the order under which the removal was made.

With respect to the arrangement of materials in my statement, I know it is not such as counsel would employ in pleading such a cause; it is not such as I would have made myself in that character; it was determined by other considerations. I thought it possible the case might be dismissed out of court by a plea to the jurisdiction. I determined, on this event, to lay it before the public, either directly or through Congress. Respect for my associates, for myself, for our nation, would not permit me to come forward, as a criminal under accusation, to plead and argue a cause. This was not my situation. I had only to state to my constituents a common transaction. This would naturally be by way of narrative or statement of the facts, in their order of time, establishing these facts as they occur, and bringing forward the law arising on them and pointing to the Executive the course he was to pursue. I suppose it more self-respectful to present it as a history and explanation of what had taken place. It does not, indeed, in that form, display the subject in one great whole, but it brings forward successively a number of questions, solving

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themselves as they arise, and leaving no one unexamined. And the mind, after travelling over the whole case, and finding as it goes along that all has been considered, and all is right, rests in that state of satisfaction which it is our object to produce. In truth, I have never known a case which presented so many distinct questions, having no dependence on one another, nor belonging even to the same branches of jurisprudence. After all, I offer this as explanation, not justification, of the order adopted.

* * * * * * * * *

At length, then, we have a chance of getting a republican majority in the supreme judiciary. For ten years has that branch braved the spirit and will of the nation, after the nation had manifested its will by a complete reform in every branch depending on them. The event is a fortunate one, and so timed as to be a God-send to me. I am sure its importance to the nation will be felt, and the occasion employed to complete the great operation they have so long been executing, by the appointment of a decided republican, with nothing equivocal about him. But who will it be? The misfortune of Bidwell removes an able man from the competition. Can any other bring equal qualifications to those of Lincoln? I know he was not deemed a profound common lawyer; but was there ever a profound common lawyer known in any of the Eastern States? There never was, nor never can be one from those States. The basis of their law is neither common

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nor civil; it is an original, if any compound can so be called. Its foundation seems to have been laid in the spirit and principles of Jewish law, incorporated with some words and phrases of common law, and an abundance of notions of their own. This makes an *amalgam sui generis*, and it is well known that a man, first and thoroughly initiated into the principles of one system of law, can never become pure and sound in any other. Lord Mansfield was a splendid proof of this. Therefore, I say, there never was nor can be, a profound common lawyer from those States. Sullivan had the reputation of preëminence there as a common lawyer. But we have his history of land titles, which gives us his measure. Mr. Lincoln is, I believe, considered as learned in their laws as any one they have. Federalists say that Parsons is better. But the criticalness of the present nomination puts him out of the question. As the great mass of the functions of the new judge are to be performed in his own district, Lincoln will be most unexceptionable and acceptable there; and on the supreme bench equal to any one who can be brought from thence; add to this his integrity, political firmness and unimpeachable character, and I believe no one can be found to whom there will not be more serious objections.

You seem to think it would be best to ascertain the probable result before making a proposition to Congress to defend Livingston's suit. On mature consideration I think it better that no such propo-

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sition should be made. The debates there would fix the case as a party one, and we are the minority in the judiciary department, and especially in the federal branch of it here. Till Congress can be thoroughly put in possession of all the points in the case, it is best they should let it lie. Livingston, by removing it into the judiciary, has fairly relinquished all claims on their interference. I am confident that Congress will act soundly, whenever we can give them a knowledge of the whole case. But I tire you with this business, and end therefore with repeating assurances of my constant attachment and respect.

TO CAPTAIN ISAAC HILLARD.

MONTICELLO, October 9, 1810.

SIR,—I duly received your letter of September 10th, and return you thanks for that and the pamphlet you were so kind as to enclose me. The health you enjoy at so good an old age, and the strength of mind evidenced in your pamphlet, are subjects of congratulation to yourself and of thankfulness to Him who gives them. I am sorry that a professor of religion should have given occasion for such a censure. It proves he has much to conquer in his own uncharitableness, and that it is not from him his flock are to learn not to bear false witness against their neighbor. But as to so much of his pulpit philippic as concerns myself I freely

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forgive him; for I feel no falsehood and fear no truth. That you may long continue to enjoy health, happiness and a sound mind, is my sincere prayer.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM DUANE.

MONTICELLO, November 13, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Your third packet is received before the second had been returned. It is now enclosed, and the other shall go by the next post. I find, as before, nothing to correct but those errors of the copyist which you would have corrected yourself before committed to the press. If it were practicable to send me the original sheets with the translated, perhaps my equal familiarity with both languages might enable me sometimes to be of some advantage; but I presume that might be difficult, and of little use, scarcely perhaps of any. I thank you for the copy of Williams. I have barely dipped into it a little. Enough, however, to see he is far short of the luminous work you are printing. Indeed I think that the most valuable work of the present age. I received from Williams, some years ago, his book on the claims of authors. I found him to be a man of sound and true principles, but not knowing how to go at them, and not able to trace or develop them for others. I believe with you that the crisis of England is come. What will be its issue it is vain to prophesy; so many thousand contingencies may turn up to affect its direction.

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Were I to hazard a guess, it would be that they will become a military despotism. Their recollections of the portion of liberty they have enjoyed will render force necessary to retain them under pure monarchy. Their pressure upon us has been so severe and so unprincipled, that we cannot deprecate their fate, though we might wish to see their naval power kept up to the level of that of the other principal powers separately taken. But may it not take a very different turn? Her paper credit annihilated, the precious metals must become her circulating medium. The taxes which can be levied on her people in these will be trifling in comparison with what they could pay in paper money; her navy then will be unpaid, unclothed, unfed. Will such a body of men suffer themselves to be dismissed and to starve? Will they not mutiny, revolt, embody themselves under a popular admiral, take possession of Western and Bermuda islands, and act on the Algerine system? If they should not be able to act on this broad scale, they will become individual pirates; and the modern Carthage will end as the old one has done. I am sorry for her people, who are individually as respectable as those of other nations—it is her government which is so corrupt, and which has destroyed the nation—it was certainly the most corrupt and unprincipled government on earth. I should be glad to see their farmers and mechanics come here, but I hope their nobles, priests, and merchants will be kept at home to be moralized

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by the discipline of the new government. The young stripling whom you describe is, probably, as George Nicholas used to say, "in the plenitude of puppyism." Such coxcombs do not serve even as straws to show which way the wind blows. Alexander is unquestionably a man of an excellent heart, and of very respectable strength of mind; and he is the only sovereign who cordially loves us. Bonaparte hates our government because it is a living libel on his. The English hate us because they think our prosperity filched from theirs. Of Alexander's sense of the merits of our form of government, of its wholesome operation on the condition of the people, and of the interest he takes in the success of our experiment, we possess the most unquestionable proofs; and to him we shall be indebted if the rights of neutrals, to be settled whenever peace is made, shall be extended beyond the present belligerents; that is to say, European neutrals, as George and Napoleon, of mutual consent and common hatred against us, would concur in excluding us. I thought it a salutary measure to engage the powerful patronage of Alexander at conferences for peace, at a time when Bonaparte was courting him; and although circumstances have lessened its weight, yet it is prudent for us to cherish his good dispositions, as those alone which will be exerted in our favor when that occasion shall occur. He, like ourselves, sees and feels the atrociousness of both the belligerents. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

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TO JAMES RONALDSON.

MONTICELLO, December 3, 1810.

SIR,—I now return you the paper you were so kind as to enclose to me. The hint to the two belligerents of disarming each other of their auxiliaries, by opening asylums to them and giving them passages to this country, is certainly a good one. Bonaparte has mind enough to adopt it, but not the means. England, again, has the means but not mind enough; she would prefer losing an advantage over her enemy to giving one to us. It is an unhappy state of mind for her, but I am afraid it is the true one. She presents a singular phenomenon of an honest people whose constitution, from its nature, must render their government forever dishonest; and accordingly, from the time that Sir Robert Walpole gave the constitution that direction which its defects permitted, morality has been expunged from their political code. I think the paper might do good if published, and could do no harm. It cannot lessen our means of availing ourselves of the same resource in case of our being at war with either belligerent. The only difficulty in these cases (and in the revolutionary war we found it a great one) is the conveying the invitation to the adverse troops. Accept my salutations and assurances of respect.

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TO DAVID HOWELL, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, December 15, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—Our last post brought me your friendly letter of November 27th. I learn with pleasure that republican principles are predominant in your State, because I conscientiously believe that governments founded in these are more friendly to the happiness of the people at large, and especially of a people so capable of self-government as ours. I have been ever opposed to the party so falsely called federalists, because I believe them desirous of introducing into our government authorities hereditary or otherwise independent of the national will. These always consume the public contributions, and oppress the people with labor and poverty. No one was more sensible than myself, while Governor Fenner was in the Senate, of the soundness of his political principles, and rectitude of his conduct. Among those of my fellow laborers of whom I had a distinguished opinion, he was one, and I have no doubt those among whom he lives, and who have already given him so many proofs of their unequivocal confidence in him, will continue so to do. It would be impertinent in me, a stranger to them, to tell them what they all see daily. My object too, at present, is peace and tranquillity, neither doing nor saying anything to be quoted, or to make me the subject of newspaper disquisitions. I read one or two newspapers a week, but

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with reluctance give even that time from Tacitus and Horace, and so much other more agreeable reading; indeed, I give more time to exercise of the body than of the mind, believing it wholesome to both. I enjoy, in recollection, my ancient friendships, and suffer no new circumstances to mix alloy with them. I do not take the trouble of forming opinions on what is passing among them, because I have such entire confidence in their integrity and wisdom as to be satisfied all is going right, and that every one is doing his best in the station confided to him. Under these impressions, accept sincere assurances of my continued esteem and respect for yourself personally, and my best wishes for your health and happiness.

TO THOMAS LAW.

MONTICELLO, January 15, 1811.

DEAR SIR,—An absence from home of some length has prevented my sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter, covering the printed pamphlet, which the same absence has as yet prevented me from taking up, but which I know I shall read with great pleasure. Your favor of December 22d, is also received.

Mr. Wagner's malignity, like that of the rest of his tribe of brother printers, who deal out calumnies for federal readers, gives me no pain. When a printer cooks up a falsehood, it is as easy to put it into the

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mouth of a Mr. Fox, as of a smaller man, and safer into that of a dead than a living one. Your sincere attachment to this country, as well as to your native one, was never doubted by me; and in that persuasion, I felt myself free to express to you my genuine sentiments with respect to England. No man was more sensible than myself of the just value of the friendship of that country. There are between us so many of those circumstances which naturally produce and cement kind dispositions, that if they could have forgiven our resistance to their usurpations, our connections might have been durable, and have insured duration to both our governments. I wished, therefore, a cordial friendship with them, and I spared no occasion of manifesting this in our correspondence and intercourse with them; not disguising, however, my desire of friendship with their enemy also. During the administration of Mr. Addington, I thought I discovered some friendly symptoms on the part of that government; at least, we received some marks of respect from the administration, and some of regret at the wrongs we were suffering from their country. So, also, during the short interval of Mr. Fox's power. But every other administration since our Revolution has been equally wanton in their injuries and insults, and have manifested equal hatred and aversion. Instead, too, of cultivating the government itself, whose principles are those of the great mass of the nation, they have adopted the miserable policy of teazing and embar-

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rassing it, by allying themselves with a faction here, not a tenth of the people, noisy and unprincipled, and which never can come into power while republicanism is the spirit of the nation, and that must continue to be so, until such a condensation of population shall have taken place as will require centuries. Whereas, the good will of the government itself would give them, and immediately, every benefit which reason or justice would permit it to give. With respect to myself, I saw great reason to believe their ministers were weak enough to credit the newspaper trash about a supposed personal enmity in myself towards England. This wretched party imputation was beneath the notice of wise men. England never did me a personal injury, other than in open war; and for numerous individuals there, I have great esteem and friendship. And I must have had a mind far below the duties of my station, to have felt either national partialities or antipathies in conducting the affairs confided to me. My affections were first for my own country, and then, generally, for all mankind; and nothing but minds placing themselves above the passions, in the functionaries of this country, could have preserved us from the war to which their provocations have been constantly urging us. The war interests in England include a numerous and wealthy part of their population; and their influence is deemed worth courting by ministers wishing to keep their places. Continually endangered by a powerful oppo-

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sition, they find it convenient to humor the popular passions at the expense of the public good. The shipping interest, commercial interest, and their janizaries of the navy, all fattening on war, will not be neglected by ministers of ordinary minds. Their tenure of office is so infirm that they dare not follow the dictates of wisdom, justice, and the well-calculated interests of their country. This vice in the English constitution, renders a dependence on that government very unsafe. The feelings of their King, too, fundamentally adverse to us, have added another motive for unfriendliness in his ministers. This obstacle to friendship, however, seems likely to be soon removed; and I verily believe the successor will come in with fairer and wiser dispositions towards us; perhaps on that event their conduct may be changed. But what England is to become on the crush of her internal structure, now seeming to be begun, I cannot foresee. Her monied interest, created by her paper system, and now constituting a baseless mass of wealth equal to that of the owners of the soil, must disappear with that system, and the medium for paying great taxes thus failing, her navy must be without support. That it shall be supported by permitting her to claim dominion of the ocean, and to levy tribute on every flag traversing that, as lately attempted and not yet relinquished, every nation must contest, even *ad internecionem*. And yet, that retiring from this enormity, she should continue able to take a fair share in the

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necessary equilibrium of power on that element, would be the desire of every nation.

I feel happy in withdrawing my mind from these anxieties, and resigning myself, for the remnant of life, to the care and guardianship of others. Good wishes are all an old man has to offer to his country or friends. Mine attend yourself, with sincere assurances of esteem and respect, which, however, I should be better pleased to tender you in person, should your rambles ever lead you into the vicinage of Monticello.

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